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AN UNPUBLISHED JOURNAL OF GEORGE WHITEFIELD

TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY EARNEST EDWARD EELLS
East Hampton, New York

An unpublished journal of Rev. George Whitefield, detailing his life from October 17th, 1744, to some time in the spring of 1745, has been in the Princeton Theological Seminary Library since June, 1816. It bears an inscription showing that it was given to the seminary by Dr. John R. B. Rodgers, the famous pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of New York. Probably it was a part of the papers which Dr. Rodgers is said to have guarded and carried about in a trunk during the Revolutionary War.

The book is composed of six gatherings, each having sixteen leaves. Folio A, 1 and 2 are pasted against the inside of the front cover; A, 3 is imperfect, the top of the leaf having been torn off; the remaining part of the leaf bears preliminary material not in Whitefield's writing. Folio E, 1 is missing at the point noted in this transcription. Folio E, 16 is also missing; it presumably was blank, since the last note in the journal occurs on folio E, 8a. Folios F, 7, 8, and 9 have been torn out, and F, 15 and 16 have been pasted to the inside of the back cover.

Thus five leaves, or ten pages are missing.

The period of this unpublished journal is covered by Tyerman, in *George Whitefield*, II, 120 to 185. But Tyerman did not have knowledge of this journal, though it is referred to in a letter quoted on p. 149, where Whitefield writes, "I am preparing my sermons for the press and am also writing another journal."

The following is a literal transcription of the unpublished journal, with abbreviations made into full words and with a few notes by the transcriber. Paragraphing and punctuation as indicated by dashes in the manuscript have been completed. Pages in the manuscript are indicated by the numbers between two diagonals.

Changes made in the manuscript by Whitefield are indicated by brackets. The portions in brackets were crossed out in

the original. The presence of these changes proves this to have been the original draft and no copy.

(Title Page, not in Whitefield's hand.) /1/

The Gift of
Dr. John R. B. Rodgers of New York
to the Theological Seminary
June, 1816
Feb. 19.

(Following page, not in Whitefield's hand) /2/

Thus lived, thus laboured a man whose transcendent eloquence—whose great talents, whose time, person, soul—all were laid at the foot of the cross; of his preaching it has been truly said, "He seemed to forget his eloquence and to forget himself; to be wholly absorbed in the saving of souls and the glorifying of God." Reader we shall never regret in eternity if now—putting on the spirit of Whitefield's Master—we go and do likewise.

(From here in Whitefield's hand). /3/

On Board the Wilmington
Captain Darling, Oct. 17, 1744

My very Dear Friends:

Being now, through the good hand of our God upon us, in a fair way of reaching our desired port in a short time, with a kind of holy impatience I now sit down to write a brief account of our Voyage.

On Sunday evening, August 5th, after having been enabled to preach with power and voice to very large Congregations we took leave of our dear weeping friends at Plymouth, and came on Board the Wilmington, blessing and praising God. My own heart was exceeding happy indeed; and I could not but bless our Lord in an especial manner for ordering it so by his providence, that I embarked after a Sabbath Day's Service.

On Monday, the wind not favouring, we continued on board in Plymouth Sound. Many friends came from divers quarters to see us and brought with them some tokens of their

love. We sang and gave thanks together, but several left us with weeping eyes, and I believe with breaking hearts.

On Tuesday morning, August 7th, a fair Gale springing up, we set Sail in company with upwards of 125 Ships, Merchant Men and Men-of-War altogether. The sight was very awful and entertaining. Our winds carried us about 18 Leagues and then turned against us. To my Surprise our Saviour gave me a Spirit to compose. The day after we set /4/ sail I was enabled to put down a Sermon, and in about 4 or 5 Weeks to compose in final draft 6 more, this Account of God's dealing with me from the time of my ordination to of my going to Georgia¹ my answer to the 2nd part of the observations upon the conduct of the Methodists,² and to the Bishop of Litchfield's charge to his Clergy.³ I had also sweet times in reading the holy Scriptures, and by Satan's not attacking me any more began to fear He saw not much good coming out of my present Voyages, and therefore let me alone, but I was soon tried many ways, both without and within. For the first six weeks we make but little progress in our Voyage. We had several Strong Gales of Wind, some of which might well be properly called storms, though being in a very large ship of about 700 Tons we did not feel it so much as others. Not long after we were out we saw several large ships, at a distance, supposed by some to be part of the Brest Fleet. All the ships took this alarm and ran under the shelter of the Men of War like Chickens under the wings of a Hen. In a short time

1 See W. Wale, *George Whitefield's Journals, Etc.* (London, 1905), 65. The title is given as follows:—"A Short Account of God's Dealings with the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield A.B. Late of Pembroke College Oxon, Genesis xxxii 10, I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies, and of all the truth which thou hast showed to thy servant." After the preface, the heading is given as "A Further Account." Wale gives no date of publication but Tyerman, *George Whitefield* (New York, 1877), I, 61, in note gives the date as 1747. Tyerman does not state this "Further Account" was written on this voyage, and seems to be ignorant of that fact. Tyerman's account of the voyage is taken from other sources than this journal, showing that he did not know of its existence. (Cf. II, 120ff.)

2 See Tyerman, *op. cit.* II, 93, "Whitefield's 'Second Letter,' to the bishops, was written during his voyage to America, and was first 'printed and sold by Rogers and Fowle, in Queen Street, near the Prison, Boston, 1744.'" (4to. 24 pp.). It is dated August 25th, 1744.

3 "Some remarks upon a late Charge against Enthusiasm delivered by the Right Reverend Father in God Richard, Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, to the Rev. the clergy in the several parts of the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry, in a Triennial Visitation of the same in 1741; and published at their request, in the present year 1744, in a Letter to the Rev. the clergy of that Diocese. By George Whitefield, A.B., late of Pembroke College, Oxon." (8vo, 35 pp.). This reply, says Tyerman, *op. cit.* II, 99, "was written on shipboard, during his voyage to America, and was first printed at Boston, in New England."

we found they were some Dutch Ships, who came to at the fire of our Commodore, and made their proper salutes. Soon after we saw some more large ships, which proved to be admiral (possibly Bolchen's. Ed.) fleet. They cut a great figure and rode over the seas in a triumphant Manner. I thought it was what the world called The Glory of the English Nation, but thought with all that those were the only happy persons that gloried and trusted in the Lord.

The wind a little hard, which we saw, and so continued, sometimes calm, and sometimes stormy, till to our great surprise, after Six weeks Sailing, we came in sight of two or three of the western Islands. The /5/ prospect was very pleasant. The Newfoundland and Virginia fleet had left us; and some of the New England ships wanting water, they put out a signal of distress and made their wants known to our Commodore.

Being calmed he called for all the Captains on board his Ship and agreed to put in at one of the Western Islands called Fyal, if the winds should favour.

In the mean while an humbling providence befell us. For one Evening, just as I and my dear Wife had been Singing a hymn upon Deck, I observed all to be in a hurry, but it being very moderate weather, I could not tell for what reason. I soon found what it was. For one of the ships by one accident or another was running against our Ship. I was upon deck with my little family looking to the Lamb and waiting the shock. By the good providence of God, the Ship's bulke did not strike and our ship being large, lost only a little of her rigging, but the other lost one, if not two of her masts, and I believe some of her sail.

To see their consternation, and to hear them passing by muttering and desiring us to fire as a signal of distress was very awful. Our deliverance being extraordinary I soon retired with my little family to prayers and give thanks. But what was more awful was their behaviour afterwards. For when our ship came up to the distress to see what damage was done, one on board her fell cursing and swearing, and another said, he supposed we were at prayers, and be damned to us. Language I thought ill becoming Creatures that had just been on the brink of Eternity. It being night and the signals of

distress put out and guns firing made everything appear with greater solemnity.

The next day the man of War gave a signal for our ship to bear up to him, and one of the officers asked if it was our Captain's Charity to run upon the other ship and then leave her. This was not the first I had reason to believe that our ship was looked upon with an evil eye, upon my account and that I was the Jonah in the fleet. Our prayers, preaching, and hymns /6/ were too frequent.

I committed my cause to God in an especial manner after the storm and He soon spoke, and that too out of the whirlwind, For just the night, or rather morning before we had prospect of getting into Fyal, the most violent storm arose that ever I beheld. It tore our sails like brown paper and carried away our main topmast. It shook the whole frame of my animal nature, and made me think of Jonah in the Whale's belly. We had several storms before but nothing in comparison of this. The Heaven and earth seemed to be coming together. I cried to the Lord, in my deep distress, both with my Wife, and afterwards with the passengers. Its fury gradually abated. But it parted us entirely from our Company, so that we had now no arm of flesh to trust to if we would. Those in the Cabbin agreed to set a day apart for humiliation and prayer—We did. I discoursed a little on a passage out of Ezra, and the Lord was entreated of us, for ever since that Day that we humbled ourselves at the Dear Redeemer's Feet, (though before we had scarce 24 Hours fair wind together for 6 Weeks), we have had favourable gales, and no considerable bad weather. We have continued this, weekly, ever since and the Lord has remarkably appeared before us. Soon after the first day of prayer, one of the Mast ships, whose captain thought favorably of me, came up and joined company. About a Week after, the other Two Mast ships joined us, though we apprehended these to be two enemies. Accordingly, all preparations were made for an engagement, and I had got myself ready, /7/ with my Wife and servants to go to a prison. We prayed and sung — God supported us and the other passengers, and before Evening we had the satisfaction of finding they were Friends. Since that we have sailed agreeably together, and since our last day of prayer have been carried upon the wings of the Winds, sometimes 7, sometimes 8, sometimes 9 and

near 10 miles in an Hour for a considerable time together. To-day we struck Ground and hope if the Wind continues, as it has these 24 last hours, (wherein our ship has run 184 miles), to be at our haven sometime this Week.

Oh that my latter end may thus greatly encrease and I may be enabled to sail in triumph into Heaven. I have found by happy experience, my dear friends that God will not always be chiding, neither will he keep his anger forever. In the midst of Judgement He remembers mercy, and when we are most in danger near the Enemies' Country carries us by it as on Eagle's Wings. We have not been attacked once, neither have we wanted anything, Through the passenger's bounty, that came in the ship, on my account we have had all things richly to enjoy. We have been as it were of one heart and one mind, and had all things in common. Harmony and love has reigned amongst us. We have had prayers and singing twice and preaching once every day excepting the Lord's Day, when I have preached twice. Many of the sailors have attended orderly and learnt one or two of our hymn tunes.

My Dear Wife has been supported sweetly, taken altogether, /8/ and though I have sometimes been humbled by inward trials and bodily weakness, yet my consolations and joy in God have been proportionable. The example of the Apostle Paul has been wonderfully pressed upon my soul. I have been enabled to see fresh corruptions in my heart, that lay undiscovered before, and redeem much time for reading, so that though it has been a long and perilous yet it has been a profitable Voyage to me and mine—Help me my dear friends to be thankful, because I really believe that through your prayers these blessings have in a good measure been conferred upon us. Oh trust the Lord, all ye his saints—For they that put their trust in him shall be like Mount Zion, which cannot be moved at any time.

Boston, December 4th.

Thus far I wrote on board and expected the next day to be on shore. Our Cables were laid and ready to cast Anchor, But God's thoughts are not as our thoughts. Before the morning a violent storm arose which continued 3 or 4 days and drove us 50 Leagues back. We were in very great jeopardy and gave ourselves unto prayer. Our fresh provisions were

quite out and I began to feel great pains and disorders in my body, but God who is rich in mercy pitied us and did not suffer us to be blown off the Coast, but brought us, October 26th, all safe to Land. How the Lord was pleased to bring me to the Gates /9/ of Death, raise me up again, cause opposition to fall before me, and open a glorious door for preaching the Everlasting Gospel my next Journal will inform you. At present weakness and business prevent my enlarging only I would inform you that I am happy in Jesus and blessed every way more than I can express.

I find more and more that a great and glorious work has been wrought in New England and I trust and believe we shall see as glorious a revival. My prayers are continually assending up for you and wishing you all manner of blessings, and begging the continuance of your prayers for the chief of sinners, I subscribe myself, yours most affectionately in Jesus Christ.

(A blank space and pages precede the Journal proper.) /10-14/

/15/ York in New England

Fryday [Nov.] *—October 26, 1744

Through the good hand of our God upon us we arrived at port this morning after a long and perilous passage of [near] twelve weeks, lacking about two or three days. Our putting in at York was somewhat remarkable. The morning before we landed, our provisions being quite expended, and my body growing weaker and weaker, and we not knowing, but another storm might come to blow us off the Coast, I prayed our heavenly Father, if it was agreeable to his will He would send a boat to take us ashore—

In the afternoon a boat was [came] seen, upon giving a signal, its Owners made towards us /16/ enquired whether Mr. Whitefield was on board of us, and in a little time agreed to take us to Portsmouth. It was dusking when we left our ship, and the wind being contrary, and the men mistaking the way, we were tossed pretty much all night, and resembled much the condition of the poor disciples when our Saviour came to them walking upon the sea. My bodily pain and weakness much increased, but we sang and gave praise to God, and through

* Words crossed out in the manuscript will be indicated by enclosing in brackets as here.

Places Mentioned in Whitefield's Journal



his good providence, about 9 this morning set our feet once more on the American shore. Joy appeared in the countenances of the people. One kindly invited us into a house, and another invited us to breakfast—

We accepted the invitations, and after having given thanks for our safe arrival, we took some bodily refreshment.

How my soul was delighted to hear that all was well at the Orphan House and that two or three Dear Ministers to whom I had written from on Board, were at Portsmouth, awaiting my arrival—

After breakfast, as we were going to an Inn, we were met by one, Mr. Buell,⁴ a Young Minister whom God has been pleased to make much use of in the late great and glorious work in New England. One, Dr. Bullman, with whom I lodged when last at York, and one who with his wife has been effectually called in the late revival of religion, came also with him, and earnestly pressed me and my wife to make use of his habitation. I looked upon this as an immediate answer to prayer, and accordingly thankfully accepted the offer. We went to his house, and finding /18/ the pain in my limbs and back greatly encrease, I went to bed. In a [few] short time I began to be convulsed and the Doctor was apprehensive it would be Universal. Our Saviour was pleased to give me much of his presence and I was enabled exceedingly to rejoice in the prospect of an approaching dissolution. My views of heaven were so clear that I longed to be dissolved and be with Christ. I was enabled to leave my affairs, [having settled them in England,] as well as my dear Wife, in the hands of a Covenant keeping God. My soul was sick of love, and having desired my Dear Friends to pray that the Tempter might be kept from me and my soul kept from repining, /19/ [and that they should] I wrapped myself in God, and looked for immediate death or

⁴ Rev. Samuel Buell, D.D., the third pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of East Hampton, Long Island, N. Y. His diary which covered this period was destroyed by fire in the Library at Albany in 1911, (Osgood, *Report of the Archives Etc.*, 97). Influenced by the preaching of James Davenport and Gilbert Tennant, he began preaching as an evangelist as soon as he graduated from Yale, September 1741, and was licensed as such by the New Haven Association in October of that year. His preaching led to a revival in Jonathan Edwards' parish at Northampton, Mass. (Jonathan Edwards' letter to Mr. Thomas Prince, Boston, dated Northampton, December 1742.) In his itinerations through New England he claims to have preached over 1,000 times. (Buell, *Eucharistic Sermon*, New London, 1792, p. 41). Cf. *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, II, No. 1, pp. 7, 148, Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1857), III, 92. See also an article in *The Presbyterian* (Philadelphia), CV, Nos. 41 and 42, by E. E. Eells.

a thorough plunge. Oh the happiness of [being] having the sting of death taken away by the application of the all atoning merits of the Ever-blessed Jesus! Oh the misery of those that have a Christ to begin to seek for on a dying bed!

Saturday, [Nov.] October 27th.

Had a very restless, painful night, but still kept happy in my soul. Perceived my convulsions much encreased this day and my animal strength quite gone.

Was visited by Mr. John Rodgers,⁵ his Brother, Mr. Pomeroy, and Parsons, (all Faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ), and Mr. Henry Sherburn, who with Col. Pepperell⁶ and several others, had been on board our ship which came in /20/ yesterday to bring me to shore. A Sine of God's love in raising me up such friends in a Strange land overflowed my soul to such a degree that my tottering, frail, enfeebled, tabernacle could not bear it. I had only strength just to speak to them [but] and afterwards was obliged to give orders that no more might come up, hoping all the while I should soon be in a state where I should enjoy the Communion of Saints and the Ever-blessed God without alloy or any depression whatsoever.

What a blessed thing is it to be (as Holy Mr. Bragg expressed himself in a letter to a friend the day before he died), one of His Waiting servants! looking for and seeing the Coming of the Son of God./21/

Wednesday, [Dec.] Nov. 9. (*sic.* Ed)

For these three or four days last past had the sentence of death within myself and hoped every night before the morning to have launched into the world of spirits, but this day God was

⁵ These were Rev. John Rogers of Kittery, his brother and colleague Nathaniel Rogers, Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron, Conn., and Rev. Jonathan Parsons of Lyme, Conn. On the Rogers family see Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, p. 147. Pomeroy was the companion of James Davenport in his itinerations, on whom Davenport leaned because of some weakness in his legs, and whom Davenport called his "armour-bearer." Sprague, *op. cit.* III, p. 83. Of Davenport or his extravagances nothing is said in this journal directly. Parsons was often in the company of Pomeroy. Later he came to be pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Newburyport, and it was in his home that Whitefield died. Such phrases as "faithful ministers," "friends of the late revival," indicate those whose testimonials were printed in Prince's *Christian History* (Boston, 1744-46). See especially, II, pp. 113-162.

⁶ Notice the rank. Pepperell was not made a baronet until November 1746. Whitefield would have said "Sir William Pepperell" if this journal had been in his hands after that date. Cf. Usher Parsons, *Life of Sir William Pepperell, Bart.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1855.)

pleased to give a turn to my distemper, my convulsions ceased, my pains, (such as I had never felt before), were abated and my Beloved Physician, who attended on me with the affection of a Father, had great hope of a recovery. But my wicked heart could scarcely be reconciled to coming back into a world of noise and sorrow. I thought it was like our being just ready to cast /22/ anchor and then being blown out to sea again, nevertheless I was enabled to say, (as I pray God I always may be), Father not my will but thine be done.

Saturday, November 4th.

Rode out in a chaise for the first time this day and perceived my natural appetite to return. In the afternoon I had the pleasure of seeing Dear and Reverend Mr. Moody,⁷ just returned from Cape Ann— He saluted me in the following manner, "Sir 1st You are welcome to America, 2nd And to New England, 3rd To all the good people in New England, 4th To all the Faithful Ministers in New England, 5th You are welcome to York, and 6th You /23/ are welcome to me who am less than the least of all."

Was visited by one, Mr. Bull, living near Boston, seventy miles from hence, who was remarkably converted when I was last at New England, and ever since has given evident proofs of being born from above. He was full of love, as were many others at York and from other places, who came to see me truly out of very faithfulness, O God, thou hast caused me to be cast on a bed of sickness, to moderate mine and Thy Dear people's joy, which otherwise in all probability would have exceeded its proper bounds. Just and true and holy art thou in all thy ways, O God, thou King of Saints!

Sunday, November 5th.

Preached twice this day in Mr. Moody's /24/ Pulpit, with freedom and power, and was enabled to answer several letters that were sent me at night, among which was one from Mr.

⁷ Rev. Samuel Moody, pastor at York, Maine, a nephew of the famous Rev. Joshua Moody, founder of the church at Portsmouth, N. H. Although a friend of Whitefield, Mr. Moody opposed separations and was a supporter of the action of the Ministerial Convention of July 7th, 1743 in Boston, which adopted a *Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors of Churches in New England*. It was this divine who, at the age of seventy, went on the Cape Breton Expedition as chaplain bearing an ax over his shoulder, and later used it to demolish the images in the Roman Catholic churches of Louisburg. He actually preached in one of these churches, on the text, "Enter into his courts with praise," Psalm 100: 4 and 5. See Sprague, *op. cit.* I, 243 ff.

Nathaniel Rogers,⁸ Minister of Ipswich, in which he writes as follows:—

Ipswich, Nov. 1, 1744.

“Rev’d and Dear Brother :

“I rejoice in your safe arrival and desire to bless the Lord who has brought you again among us and recovered you from pain and sickness, with which I hear it has pleased him to visit you. I hope the Lord is preparing you for eminent service among us and pray and trust that as He has been pleased to use and honour you here before in beginning and setting forward a special and marvelous work of His grace in this land He will now greatly improve you in imparting to his /25/ saints some further spiritual gifts, to the end they may be refreshed and established, that they may be comforted together with you by the mutual faith both of them and you, and that He would make you wise to win souls to Christ. I invite you, dear sir, to our Family, and pray that you may have a prosperous journey by the will of God, and come to us in the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of peace, is I trust the hearty prayer of your sincere friend thy brother,

Nath’l Rogers.

Another was from a young Merchant in Boston who wrote thus:—

Boston, Nov. 1, 1744.

“Rev’d and Dear Sir :

“It is with a great deal of satisfaction that I at first heard that you were embarked for these parts, and afterward that it pleased God to bring you and yours safely in, though at some distance. Since that I heard the sorrowful account of your painfull and Dangerous Illness, on which account I desire to be humbled before God and hope I heartily join with the sincere and faithful servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, Dr. Sewell in his earnest prayers to God on your and your wife’s behalf at the publick lecture today. I doubt not, dear sir, that there were many present before God, who heartily joined in that request and though it has pleased God for wise and holy ends thus to

⁸ Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, the colleague of his father, Rev. John Rogers. President John Rogers of Harvard was his grandfather, and Nathaniel Rogers, founder of Ipswich, 1638, his ancestor. Whitefield mentions later in this journal their descent from Rev. John Rogers, of Dedham, England, the famous Puritan martyr. See Prince, *Christian History*, I, 167, and II, 342.

lay his hands upon you, I would yet humbly hope that you shall be raised up and that you shall come forth out of that furnace as gold. I hope I rejoice to hear that you experience the rod and Staff of God comforting you, even when in your own and perhaps in others apprehensions you may be just stepping into the eternal world, a thought whereof if I doubt not, at least sometimes, filled you with joy unspeakable and full of glory. The Lord fit and prepare you and yours and all his people for his holy sovereign will. He will cause this affliction to work for you and his dear people's best good and they shall be made to know it, if not now, hereafter. /26/ I long and hope soon to hear of your recovery, and that you are again about our Lord's work, which I believe it is your meat and drink to do. May God send you to his people in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ, and make you still the instrument in the hands of the Holy Spirit in Converting many souls to God. I trust that God has in his adorable free and sovereign Grace thus highly honored and distinguished you and made you a spiritual father to many Souls in this and other places. And, blessed be his name, I hope I have reason through the riches of free grace to bless God that I have seen and heard you. My first abiding impressions I received under that ministry, not that I had not always heard the same excellent truths from my dear and beloved ministers Dr. Sewell and Mr. Prince, but God will send by your hand of whom he will send. I hope that God sometimes refreshes me by his word and gives me peace and joy in believing and helps me many times when I am brought low by my iniquities, all praise be given to free sovereign grace. I believe, dear sir, that if ever we arrive at heaven, it will be only because God will have it so. O that God would give me sincerity and uprightness of heart, and keep me entirely dependent upon Jesus Christ for pardon, grace, and eternal glory! But I can't ad (*sic*. Ed.) at present I hope to see you and receive some benefit to my soul through your means. I beg your earnest prayers, for my self, wife and child. My respects to Mrs. Whitefield, though unknown.

I am, Rev'd and Dear Sir,
Your friend and Servant
David Jeffries.

I designed to have wrote something of the state of affairs

here but Mr. Smith⁹ can better inform you by word of mouth."

Boston, Sabbath Day, Nov. 12, 1744.

"Dear Madam:

"Your letter last night has produced more concern than I ever knew in Boston on any occasion. Most fervent prayers are going up in the churches. One here says that Mr. 'Whitefield should be put on praying for himself and not think to sneak away.' My mind does not give me that he is sick unto death, but that God is further preparing and humbling the people, and humbling him in order to receive his coming in fuller measure and demonstration of the spirit. Surely God will do more by him now, indeed I don't know how great things to expect or where to bound my hopes. My present light and disposition with the particular circumstances of business that now attends me, and if you knew them, put the (*illegible*. Ed.) advising me not to come at present, and before one day I hope to hear Mr. Whitefield is mending; In which case pray entreat his care of himself. Dr. Davis writes me on that head, would it not be best for him to cease preaching for a time? And soon to see Boston. Mr. Wibins (? Ed.) of the 10th says Mr. Whitefield is something better. I hope he has not mistaken the date. If I am blinded I am indeed to see the darkest day New England ever saw.

"I earnestly pray God to prepare both me and you; But don't let temporals add to your wait. But pray be assured God will, nay has disposed the hearts of his people to you.

"Could you have heard the prayers in the churches this day, particularly in relation to you, no doubts of the kind could have remained with you, but I can't think it is to be so.

Lord Jesus say amen

Yours in Our Dear Lord

John Smith."

Was visited also this day by [*illegible*] my Dear Fellow Traveller, Mr. Smith and Dr. Davis, a physician from Boston who expected to see me dead, dying or very weak, but to their

9 Mr. John Smith, writer of the following letter, was a merchant in Boston, "evidently a man of some means," says Prof. Leon Burr Richardson, *An Indian Preacher in England* (Hanover, N. H., 1933), p. 24n. Dr. Richardson has printed in this volume a large number of letters from and to Smith, who evidently was one of Whitefield's chief financial supporters.

Great surprise found me in the pulpit preaching to poor sinners the Unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ. They acquainted me [how many] what multitudes of prayers had been put up for me and believed God would not let them go unanswered. Even so Lord, Amen and Amen.

Whilst we were at dinner together news was brought that the house was on fire, which thru the Good Providence of God was quickly extinguished. I could not but think that Satan had a hand in this as well as in my bodily sickness and the death of so many persons in the confusion there was in Mr. Checkley's Meeting house when I was last at Boston. But the Lord strengthened mine and his people's faith to believe that this was only a prelude to some remarkable revival of religion in these parts.

In the afternoon praiseworthy Mr. Moody gave thanks for our remarkable deliverance, and enumerated what great blessings his Congregation had enjoyed. I find they were favored with some glorious gales of the blessed Spirit about three years ago and other adjacent places caught the flame /29/ numbers were savingly converted and enjoyed uncommon manifestations of divine love. Some that appeared to be wrought upon have apostatized and there was a general complaint of a withdrawing of the remarkable outpouring of the Spirit of God. The general language was, revive thy work, O Lord, in the midst of the Years. May the Lord Jesus say Amen.

Monday, November 6th.

Preached this morning by nine o'clock at the desire of Mr. Moody. The Lord was with us. Was very ill both before and after dinner, but having engaged myself to Mr. Chandler,¹⁰ the minister of Scotland, about four miles from York, I went thither and through the Divine assistance was strengthened to preach /30/ with sweetness and freedom to a very crowded Auditory, and, blessed be God, found myself rather better than worse, after my return to York, thanks be to God in and through Christ Jesus, for this and all his tender mercies.

Tuesday, November 7th.

Went in a chaise with Mr. Henry Sherburn, an Eminent

¹⁰ Rev. Samuel Chandler, of the Second Church of York, at Scotland, signed the *Testimony* printed in *The Christian History*, I, 166.

and wealthy merchant, to Portsmouth, on Piscataqua, where we designed to land.

This Mr. Sherburn is a glorious instance of rich and sovereign grace. He told me he received one of his first impressions under my first sermon at Piscataqua, four years ago, but afterwards was effectually wrought upon under God, by Mr. Gerring /31/ and other [faithful] Ministers who [came] went about preaching the Everlasting Gospel. A notable and evident change has been wrought in him. His house is open to all the faithful Ambassadors and followers of the [Lord Jesus] blessed Jesus and he shows that he believes by being careful to maintain good works—

In our way we called upon Mr. Moody's son¹¹ who has been under great dejection of spirit and power of melancholy for several Years. Never did I see anybody more resemble holy Job, when his friends stood at a distance and were afraid to speak to him.

I could have sat by him and held my tongue a considerable time. He often said, "Look and learn, look and learn." "If such a creature as I am can be used as a step for you to step to /32/ heaven by I shall be glad," with many things to the like persuasion—

He can talk excellently of many things, but cares by no means to talk of himself. Oh that the day of his mourning may be ended and his latter end greatly increase as Job's did! O that I may remember his advice, *Look and Learn*, for how know I what may befall me ere I die?—

About three in the afternoon we reached Piscataqua. The two ministers of the place and many others came to the River's side to give us the meeting. Mr. Sherburn and his wife gladly received us into their house—

About 6 I preached to a large and affected Auditory: but perceived my disorder of a nervous cholick returning fast upon me as soon as I had done. /33/ Lord let thy will be done in, by, and upon me, whether thou hast designed me for life or death—

11 In his seventh Journal, Whitefield says: "Mr. Moody has a son, a minister, who was once full of faith and joy in the Holy Ghost, and walked in the light of God's countenance, and made full proof of his ministry; but for these two years past has walked in darkness, and cannot apply any of the promises to himself. I was assisted to pray for him, not knowing but his case might be mine hereafter." *Wale, op. cit.*, 468.

Wednesday, November 8th.

Was very bad all night and exercised the greatest part of this day with extreme pain, but notwithstanding feel a happiness and joy unspeakable and was enabled to talk powerfully of heaven and the invisible realities of another world to those who came to see me—

I intended to preach in the evening but was unable, However there being great crowds come out of the Country, and God being pleased for a while to suspend my pain, I ventured out in the afternoon and preached with great power to a large Congregation, till the cries of the people, albeit I begged them to refrain /34/ themselves, drowned my voice, [indeed the Saviour's presence was amongst us] a more visible alteration I never saw in any people, and I could scarce believe I was preaching to the same persons that behaved like rocks and stones four years agoe,¹² and I saw and felt so much of the divine presence that I could contentedly have went to my lodgings and died. Oh that I may be ready at whatsoever hour my Lord shall come!

Monday, November 19th.

Went out for the first after a long and dangerous relapse which threatened my life more than my late visitation at York. /35/

My pains were more acute and my weakness much more sensible. The help of another Physician was called in. Nothing was wanting that could be necessary. All were officious to attend upon and sit up with me, and above all the Dear Redeemer was please to give me his presence both to support and compose—

Several times I seemed to be breathing my last, but I really believe the prayers of God's people brought me back. Some spent a whole night in that exercise and others were instant with God by day. O what am I! The Lord humble me, reward my friends, and for his Dear Son's sake grant that I may come out of this furnace like Gold tried seven times in the fire, and that his people may not be disappointed of their hope. Even so Lord Jesus. Amen! /36/

¹² In the seventh Journal, "Preached to a polite auditory, and so very unconcerned, that I began to question whether I had been preaching to rational or brute creatures. Seeing no immediate effects of the word preached, I was a little dejected." *Wale, op. cit.*, 467.

Thursday, November 22nd.

Preached in Mr. Fitch's¹³ meeting-house this afternoon with a sweet sense of the divine presence. It was a day appointed for a General Annual Thanksgiving. (A laudable custom!). Oh New England, blessed art thou, for thou hast the Lord for thy God!

Saturday, November 24th.

Set out this morning from Portsmouth in a Coach sent for that purpose by my Boston Friends. Was accompanied by Mr. Sherburn, and Mr. John Rogers Minister of Kittery, who tho' He has been in the ministry these 30 years, told me as we rode in the coach, /37/ he was not acquainted with real religion, till I was last in New England.

The words that struck him were these, "If I was to draw the picture of a natural man I must go to Hell for a picture to draw him by." This I think was at Hampton. At York, in my discourse upon the Prodigal, He told me I pulled him all to pieces, and razed his false foundation and led him to a Sin forgiving God. He thought I aimed at and spoke particularly to him, and said He should have cried out, only pride prevented him; but he could not refrain after He had come out of the Meeting house. Ever since He has fought the good fight and appeared boldly in defense of the late great and glorious work of God /38/ in New England, and even before his conversion was so eminent for his good sense and rational powers that one said, if Mr. John Rogers should become a New Light He should think there was something in it. And yet, when He did become one, that would not do. Such talk is only like the Jews saying to Jesus, come down from the cross, and we will believe, and yet they did not believe though He performed a greater miracle, even died upon the cross and rose again from the grave. Oh how desperately wicked and treacherous above all things is the heart of man! [What hath the Scrip]. God keep me from trusting it, for thy Dear Son's sake!

Got over New-bury Ferry between four /39/ and five in the afternoon and perceived near two hundred on the shore to

¹³ Rev. Jabez Fitch, of Portsmouth, son of James Fitch of Saybrook and Norwich, Conn. He died in 1746, aged seventy-four. Rev. James Fitch, his father, was active in evangelizing the Indians, and gathered the Mohegans in his own house. He is referred to in Mather's *Just Communications*, 53, and DeForest's *Indians of Connecticut*, 274-279. Cf. W. D. Love, *Samson Occom* (Boston, 1899), 24.

see us land. The coachman being not ready, I went in to the Publick House. Many crowded in after me and I gave them as I stood a word of exhortation. The Lord was with me. Several wept, and the woman of the house was very much affected. Who would but drop a word for God, whenever opportunity offers! Who would but shoot an arrow at a venture! God may direct it between the joints and the harness of a poor Sinner's heart. Direct and fasten this there my Almighty Lord and God.

Reached Ipswich about nine at night and was to preach on the Lord's Day following /40/ my arrival but was so fatigued with my journey and caught such a cold that I could scarce move off the bed all day and was in great danger of a relapse.

Abundance of Dear Souls came from New-Bury and other parts to hear me, but God's thoughts are never our thoughts. However I was made abundantly to rejoice in the Good News.

Mr. Rogers, the Minister of the place, told me what had been done in the parish both for his own and the other Souls. He is brother of Mr. John Rogers that came with me and has had also a new heart given him too in these and Years last past. He has had /41/ a glorious harvest. One woman, he informed me, lately died in triumph and left her love to me as being the first under God, that awakened her out of a state of nature.

At night the people flocked round my room door full of love and exceedingly desirous to see me, but my illness did not admit of it, however one Gracious Man desired me He might sit up with and watch me. I accepted the offer and was refreshed with his conversation. He told me he believed a hundred were converted by the sermons I preached at New-Bury when last at New England, that His wife lately deceased was one, and himself another.

Oh what reason have I to lie low at the /42/ feet of Jesus! Not unto me, not unto me, but unto thy name be all the glory! Monday, November 25th.

Left Ipswich by seven in the morning and called as I went by his house on the Rev. Mr. Rogers, Father to the person where I lay and senior Pastor of the Church. He came out and saluted me most cordially and was ready to weep for joy. He is a Great-Grandson to the famous Mr. John Rogers of Ded-

ham, and is so happy as to have three Sons and one Grandson who have experienced and now preach the truth as it is in Jesus.

The Lord was good to me in the way and brought me according to my desire, /43/ in a private manner, to Boston, just as it began to grow duskish. I was met by and received into the home of Mr. John Smith, a Merchant, a true Disciple of the Lord Jesus. He was the chief instrument under God of bringing me at this time to New England, and gave me an invitation to his house before we embarked.

A whole room full of Friends that had notice of my coming were ready to welcome me to Boston, which they did in the most cordial affectionate manner. I spent some time with them, as my health would permit, prayed, and retired to rest, blessing God that He had visited me with sickness in order to prepare me for the mercies he had in store for me.

[Who is like unto our glorious God in holiness] /44/ Oh! What good things hath the Lord laid up for them that fear him, even before the sons of men!

Tuesday, November 27th.

Could not help remarking
the Psalms in the family.

Had the pleasure of dining today at my lodging with the Rev. Dr. Sewell,¹⁴ Doctor Coleman,¹⁵ Mr. Foxcroft,¹⁶ and Mr.

14 Rev. Joseph Sewell, D.D., a member of a famous and prominent Puritan family, a Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard College, a Correspondent of the Society in Scotland for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and of the London Corporation, a Commissioner of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent, had received his D.D. from Glasgow. Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, of New York City, 1727-1753, was for a time Dr. Sewell's colleague, as was Rev. Thomas Prince at this time. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 278.

15 Rev. Benjamin Coleman, D.D., pastor of the Brattle Street Church, was ordained in London, by the Presbytery, August 4th, 1699. He had as colleague for a time Rev. Eliphalet Adams, who subsequently became pastor in New London, Conn., and of great influence there. Dr. Coleman probably did more for Harvard than any other man of his day, obtaining two substantial endowments, the Hollis and Holden benefactions. He also aided Yale materially. He received his degree from Glasgow, 1731, at the suggestion of the Scotch Society. His condemnation of some of Whitefield's methods moderated his support of the revival. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 223.

16 Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, of the First Church. Born an Episcopalian, he became by conviction a thorough Calvinist. His colleague however was Dr. Chauncey, a decided Arminian, and an opposer of Whitefield. Foxcroft defended Whitefield by a pamphlet, *An Apology in Behalf of Mr. Whitefield*, published in 1745, or at the time of this journal. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 308.

Prince,¹⁷ four of the Seniour Ministers in Boston and very worthy men [who have distinguished themselves in the late]

Before dinner we had some free conversation together in relation to some passages in my journals and the present posture of religious affairs in New England.

I found by what they said and by what I had heard by letters /45/ that the work of God had went on in a most glorious manner for near two Years after my departure from New England, but then a chill came over the [churches] work, through the imprudence of some Ministers who had been promoters and private persons who had been happy subjects of it.

They were apprehensive, I found too, that I would promote or encourage separations, and that some would have been encouraged to separate by my saying in my journal that I found the generality of Preachers preached an Unknown Christ, that the Colleges had darkness in them, even darkness that might be felt, and that speaking of the danger of an Unconverted /46/ Ministry, I said, How can a Dead man beget a living Child?

But I told them that these words were not wrote to imply that it was absolutely impossible but that it was highly improbable that an Unconverted man should be made instrumental to beget souls to Christ.

I said, I was sorry if anything I wrote had been a means of promoting separations for I was of no separating principles, but came to New England to preach the Gospel of peace [to all that were willing to hear] in my way to Georgia, and promote-charity and love among all, [several other things].

We talked freely and friendly [upon] about several other things, [and dined very comfortably] /47/ by which their jealousies they had entertained concerning me seemed to be in a great measure ended, and Dr. Coleman invited me to preach the next day at his Meeting house.

Oh the benefit of free and open dealing! How wise is the Saviour's advice, If thou hast aught against thy Brother go and tell him of it between him and thee. How much mischief, noise, and division would have been prevented through the Christian world, was this one precept but observed. Bind it O Lord as a frontlet about my head. Write it O my God in the table of my heart! /48/

17 Rev. Thomas Prince, Dr. Sewell's colleague in Old South Church, was decidedly Whitefield's friend. His collection of historical material and his son's *Christian History* are of great aid to historians. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 304.

Wednesday, November 28th.

Opened my public administration at Boston this afternoon at Dr. Coleman's meeting house from Rom. 1st, 16th. I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth. The congregation was very large, several ministers were present and the word was attended with sweet power.

Several things in the Chapter which I hinted at in the preface of my discourse seemed to be applicable to my circumstances and much affected my heart. For I could thank my God through Jesus Christ, (verse 8th) that the faith and revival of religion in New England was spoken of throughout the world—And I could say (verse 9th) God is my witness whom I /49/ serve in my spirit in the Gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I had made mention of the Dear New England people always in my prayers, making request (verse 10th) (if by any means now at length I might have a prosperous journey by the Will of God) to come unto them. For I longed to see them (verse 11) that I might be comforted together with them (verse 12) by seeing as well as hearing what good things God had done for their souls. Neither would I have them ignorant (verse 13) that often times I had purposed to come unto them though I had been often prevented putting it in execution. With great sincerity I could say (verse 14) I am a debtor out of love to Jesus, both to the Greeks and Barbarians, both to the wise and unwise, so that as much as in me is (verse 15) I /50/ am ready to preach the Gospel once more in New England.

Also, though the Gospel was faithfully and fully preached in many parts of it as it was in Rome when the Apostle wrote this Epistle.

My heart, whilst I was preaching, leaped for joy to think what God had done for Dear New England since I spoke from that pulpit last, and the consideration of the Death and the present happiness of my Dear and Honored Friend, Mr. Cooper,¹⁸ who with his worthy Colleague first introduced me into the pulpit, made me cry out with greater vigor I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for there were many living

18 Rev. William Cooper, who was colleague of Dr. Coleman, and whose son, Rev. Samuel Cooper, D.D., followed him. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 440. Cf. Prince, *op. cit.*, I, 337-41.

witnesses that it had been the power of God unto the salvation /51/ of souls.

Tho my body was weak and my countenance very pale yet the Lord was with me of a truth and Dr. Coleman immediately, as soon as service was over, engaged me to preach his Lecture on Fryday, which I promised to do.

Blessed be God for such an Entrance into Boston! How does [God] the Lord delight to disappoint fears and overcome hopes! O blessed is the man, O Jesus, that putteth his trust in Thee!

Saturday, November 30th.

Preached a preparation sermon, yesterday in the afternoon for the Rev'd Doctor Coleman, and again in this afternoon for the Rev'd Dr. Webb¹⁹ at his meeting house, where it was observed the Gracious God generally appeared most when I was last in [Boston] New England. /52/

The Congregations were very large at both places, and many people's predjudices, which had been raised in their minds upon a surmise that I would encourage separations and countenance disorders, I found wore away apace.

I preached on Fryday upon Christ's Love to us and today upon the marks of our love to Him. Sweet was the power that attended the word preached, and my soul was delighted to hear worthy Mr. Webb (an Israelite indeed) inform me how full his hands were for fiveteen (*sic*. Ed.) months successively in speaking to souls under concern and how many had been added to his Church during the late Revival of Religion in New England. Surely God has done for them great things. Holy and Reverend /53/ be His Name!

The Lord also comforted my soul by sending many to my lodgings to bless God for what He had done for their souls under my ministry when in Boston, last. My health I perceived also to be more confirmed, and my soul longed (if I must continue here below) to be more than ever upon the full stretch for God. May Jesus make me and all his ministers a flaming fire!

¹⁹ Rev. John Webb, pastor of the New North Church. In his seventh journal (the last published), Whitefield says, "Preached in the Rev. Mr. Webb's Meeting House to six thousand hearers in the house besides great numbers standing about the doors. Most wept for a considerable time." Wale, *op. cit.*, 461. Cf. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 267n.

Sunday, December 1st.

Heard the Rev'd Dr. Coleman preach a sweet sermon this morning upon these words, "Behold I bring forth my servant the branch," and after sermon the Doctor having notified to the Congregation that he had asked me to assist him and nobody making any objection, I /54/ administered the holy sacrament, and many, I believe, set under the shadow of God's Servant the Branch with great delight and his fruit was pleasant to taste.

After having dined with Doctor Coleman I went and heard Dr. Sewell upon the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Blessed be God who has yet left unto his people so many Defenders of the faith [and truth as it is in Jesus] once delivered to the Saints.

Today the blessing of Joseph come upon them. May they be fruitful boughs even fruitful boughs by a well, and may they bear fruit even in old age. Their branches run over the wall.

Sunday, December 8th.

Preached four times this /55/ last week in several meeting houses to very crowded auditories, and once on Thursday afternoon to the poor people in the Work-House, and had the pleasure of finding that the prejudiced persons were more and more [convinced] reconciled to me, especially by the sermon I preached at Worthy Doctor Sewell's on Tuesday on walking with God, [and that I was for having the word of God and not imperfa (*sic. Ed.*)]. A fire happening in the Town I preached on Fryday on Lot's delivery out of Sodom.

Waited Yesterday as I rode along to Esq'r Ryall's, who sent his chariot for me, to the aged and venerable Mr. Walter of Roxbury,²⁰ who I heard had some way or other imbibed prejudices against me. He received me civilly but did not expostulate with me upon any particular nor mention anything to

20 Whitefield spells Royal as he pronounced it, "Ryall." Rev. Nehemiah Walter, a native of Ireland, was colleague of Rev. John Eliot during the last two years of Eliot's life, in Roxbury. On his first visit to New England, Whitefield slighted him by an excessively short call, as he says, "Went this morning to Roxbury, three miles from Boston, to see the Rev. Mr. Walter, a good old puritan. He and his predecessor, the Rev. John Eliot, commonly called 'The Apostle to the Indians,' now with God, having been pastors of that congregation a hundred and six years. I had but little conversation with him, my stay being very short." Wale, *op. cit.*, 462.

me that was the cause of offense to him I suppose on account of the shortness of my visit, being /56/ in haste.

Dined with Esq'r Ryall and lodged at Captain W.....s one of the Council. Preached twice and administered the Holy Sacrament for good old Mr. Chivers²¹ the most aged, and perhaps the most hearty minister of his age in all New England. I think He told me He was 87 years of age, and had now and then a little pain in his leg, but not so much He said as He had twenty years agoe. His father was older and continued strong to a miracle almost to his dying day. How beautiful, are Grey hairs when found in the way of righteousness. Jesus was with us both in preaching and in administration of the /57/ Lord's Supper, and though it was the first time I had ventured to preach twice in a day, since my sickness yet the Lord was pleased to strengthen and comfort me very much and we closed our Sabbath very sweetly at Esq'r Ryall's. Oh Hasten O Lord that time when we shall spend an eternal Sabbath together in thy Kingdom!

Saturday, December 14th.

Preached on Monday to a large auditory for the Rev'd Mr. Emerson of Maulden,²² who has appeared and continued singularly steady and zealous in the late revival of Religion. Gave a word of exhortation at Mr. Ryall's in the Evening.

On Tuesday at the desire of Rev. Mr. Foxcroft, I ventured to preach in his evening Lecture at Doctor Coleman's Meeting and, blessed be God, found it not so /58/ prejudicial to my health as was feared it would be.

On Wednesday I preached in the forenoon at Mr. Webb's, and in the afternoon for the Rev. Mr. Gee,²³ a [zealous pro-

21 Probably Rev. Amos Cheever, of Manchester, whose father and grandfather were noted for longevity. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 245n. Rev. Nathaniel Eells, *Letter to the Second Church and Congregation in Scituate* (Boston, 1745), 5, objected to this communion service. "Mr. Whitefield doth not stand right in the ministry and . . . he hath no Right to preach and administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

22 Rev. Joseph Emerson, pastor at Malden 1721-1767. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 245n.

23 Rev. Thomas Gee, colleague of Rev. Cotton Mather in the Second Church, a vigorous defender of Whitefield. When the convention of Congregational ministers, in 1743, published a *Testimony against Several Errors etc.*, Mr. Gee replied to this in a *Letter to Rev. Nathaniel Eells, Moderator of the Convention*, whom he evidently regarded as the principal author of the *Testimony*. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 312, and Walker, *A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States* (New York, 1894), 263 ff. Note that Walker gives the date of Whitefield's arrival as Oct. 19. Tyerman, *op. cit.*, gives Oct. 26, and this journal states it was Oct. 28, 1744.

moter of the Gospel of Christ but] dear minister of Jesus Christ.

On Thursday for the Rev'd Mr. Morehead,²⁴ the Presbyterian minister, a hearty Friend to the late work, and whose people [kept] spent a whole night in prayer for my recovery from sickness.

On Fryday I went to Lyn and preached to a large auditory for the Rev'd Mr. Chivers, grand-son to old Mr. Chivers of Chelsea and I trust like minded with him. In the evening I returned and expounded at Mr. Ryall's and this afternoon came to Concord where I had a kind reception from Mr. Bliss and where with some other Boston Friends we began the Sabbath, as /59/ is customary in New England, with praising and blessing God for all past mercies, for the outpouring of the Spirit, since we saw one another last, and in praying that we might yet see greater things than [these] ever we saw or heard yet. Even so Lord Jesus, Come quickly. Amen and Amen.

Saturday, December 21st.

Preached thrice on Lord's Day and once on Monday with great sweetness and freedom to large and very affected auditories at Concord. [Had much of the divine presence in conversation] Had much of the divine presence in private conversation both days, and near access to God in our social addresses to Him. I scarce knew how to go away, but having engaged myself before, I rode /60/ after sermon in a Chaise, about 14 miles, to Redding, to the house of the Rev'd Mr. Hobby, a person of great abilities; but one that is not ashamed to own [that] (and which indeed is visible to all his Friends) that He has been greatly changed for the better, both as to principles and practise, in the glorious visitation of God's Spirit to New England, and who declared, before I came, that if no other minister would invite me to preach, his pulpit would be open.

[On Tuesday afternoon as also in the evening]

On Tuesday [even] afternoon and again in the evening I preached in it to large Auditories. [On Wednesday] My last sermon was very awakening.

On Wednesday I preached twice at Wooburn, 5 miles

²⁴ Rev. John Moorhead, pastor of the Irish or Scotch-Irish Presbyterian Church at the corner of Federal and Channing Streets, Boston, was a native of Newtown near Belfast, Ireland. He reached Boston in 1730. The church had twelve elders who visited the people regularly, each having a district. Sprague, *op. cit.*, III, 44.

from Redding, for the Rev'd /61/ Mr. Jackson. It was a snowy day but the congregation was large. My Lord helped me in delivering his word and there seems to be a stirring among the dry bones. After the sermon we went to the seat of Mr. Ryall's who came with some more Friends to hear me at Wooburn. I expounded at his house as usual and went to Boston the Next day and preached at three o'clock in the afternoon at the Meeting house of the Rev'd Mr. Checkly and again in the evening at the Rev'd Doctor Coleman's.

The Lord was with me at both seasons as well as also on Fryday Evening at the Rev'd Doctor Sewell's. The congregation as well as a sense of the divine presence seemed to increase more and more; and good Doctor Sewell, /62/ after sermon, said unto me, "Vive et vige" [Lord] Holy Father set thy Almighty fiat to it for Jesus Christ's sake.

Set out this morning in a [very] great storm of snow in order to go to [Du] Weymouth, but was obliged to stay by the way on account of the weather, at the home of Treasurer Foy, Father-in-Law of the Rev'd Mr. Cooper, from whom, as well as from several of his family, I received great tokens of civility and respect. May the Lord [reward] return them and all my kind friends ten thousand fold into their bosom!

Sunday, December 22nd.

Had a sweet opportunity of a little-wished-for retirement last night at Milton. /63/ Publick notice being given and the morning being fair I thought it my duty to go on to Weymouth where I was engaged to preach for the Rev. Mr. Bayly.

I rode on horseback, a thing I had not done before for near six months. The weather was very sharp; but the Good Lord preserved me from hurt.

When I came to Weymouth found Yesterday's violent storm made people think that I would not come. The congregation was small, but there seemed to be a very considerable melting and moving among them.

After sermon one came to be under awakenings and in the afterpart of the Evening I was sweetly entertained by Mr. Bayly's giving me an account, not only of what the Lord had done for his people, but also a gracious turn He /64/ himself had met with from the most High about three years agoe. Though he has been settled and reckoned a pious Minister near twenty years.

O how far may persons go and how long may they be overseers over a flock before they are taught by the Holy Ghost experimentally to feed them! Turn, O Lord, all that preach and do not know Thee as thou hast turned this thy Servant and so shall they be turned!

[Monday] Thursday, December 26th.

Rode on Monday to Duxbury, 16 miles from Weymouth,²⁵ whither I was invited by the Rev'd Mr. Veisy, Minister of the place, and who also dates his conversion about four years back. There I preached in the evening but to a very /65/ small congregation, because I was not expected on account of the storm, and many have looked upon Mr. Veisy as their Enemy because since his awakening He has told them the truth.

The next morning I preached again to a larger and more affected Auditory and went afterwards in company with several Dear Ministers of Jesus Christ to Plymouth, 6 miles from Duxbury, where I was enabled to preach an evening Lecture in loving labour with Freedom and power to a numerous and attentive congregation.

On Wednesday I preached thrice and on Thursday twice, to yet larger and larger auditories. Many ministers were present, and He that holdeth the stars in his right hand, was peculiarly present also.

A time of refreshing came /66/ from the presence of the Lord. The Cup of some of God's people almost run over. Dr. Leonard was highly delighted. He is a choice, humble, Judicious, Minister of Christ, a downright Nathanael, and seems to be placed in these parts by the Great Head of the Church to stand in defence of the power of religion and strengthen the hands of several Young Witnesses that have lately been [raised up] converted and called to settle in some Adjacent Parishes.

The [outpouring] share that Plymouth has had in the late outpouring of the Spirit was not small. It was delightful to hear of it. A surprising alteration hath been made both

²⁵ Before Whitefield reached Duxbury he passed through Hingham and Scituate, but was not invited to preach there by Rev. Nathaniel Eells, the pastor, for reasons given in *A Letter to the Second Church and Congregation in Scituate, written by their Rev. Pastor, Shewing some Reasons why he doth not invite the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield into his pulpit: to which is added, A Postscript, containing an Answer to the reasons given by a Number of Ministers conven'd at Taunton, in the county of Bristol, for their inviting him into their pulpits, etc.* (Boston, 1745, 14 pp.).

in the principles and conduct of Mr. Leonard. /67/ He was reckoned a very good and pious Man before, but acknowledges He knew nothing as he ought to until after the late remarkable revival of religion.

This stirred up the Old Man in many and together with his [preaching] openly owning the work of God, and opening his Pulpit to Itinerant preachers, so irritated a part of his congregation that they asked a dismission (which was granted them) and they have since joined in a separate congregation, built a New Meeting-house, and have lately had a minister ordained over them. Well might our Saviour say, "I came not to send peace but a sword," for I find when the power of God does appear offences will come both from the Corruptions of God's Children and the enmity which is in the heart of natural men. Hasten O Lord, that time when the Leopard shall lie down with the kid, and Lion eat straw like the Ox, and thy /68/ people divide and learn war of any kind no more! Saturday, December 29th.

Went on Thursday, after having preached, and had my soul greatly delighted at Plymouth, to Hallifax, 6 miles from thence, to the house of Rev. Mr. Cotton, who dates his first turn from Arminianism and a state of nature, from his hearing me at Dr. Sewall's about 4 years agoe, (O free Grace), when I remember I was very explicit in showing the danger of preaching an unfelt Christ.

He seemed to be a settled solid, devout, soul. When I saw his account of things [published] in the *Christian History*, published by the Rev'd Mr. Prince, and which I earnestly recommend to all that want to know what God has done lately for New England),²⁶ /69/ having heard nothing of him, I asked whether the Writer of that account was not threescore years old, for he seemed to write like an Experienced Saint.

On Fryday I preached twice to a Crowded Auditory in his Meeting-house and great were the outgoings of the Lord in His Sanctuary.

In the Evening I went to Bridgewater to Rev'd Mr. Shaw's, who had been one of my hearers in Halifax, and behaved with great civility.

²⁶ The publication of *The Christian History* was probably the reason why this journal was never printed. It covers the same period, relates many of the same events, and proposed to continue but did not do so. It is regarded as the first magazine printed in America.

This day I preached twice for him, to very large Auditories, and the Power of God amongst the people seemed to encrease also.

I was more than happy in my soul and many of the Hearers by their behaviour seemed to give great proofs they were indeed some of Christ Jesus' /70/ born babes that desired to be fed with the sincere milk of his most holy word.

Lord Jesus grant that they may grow thereby!

Monday, December 31st.

Preached twice this day and thrice yesterday and helped administer the holy Sacrament at another Meeting-house in Bridgewater, for the Rev'd Mr. Porter, a Dear Young Witness to Jesus Christ who dates his [conversion] awakening (as have many others) from my preaching in the Old Brick Church when last in Boston, 4 years agoe.

He said he was struck by these words, when I was discoursing on the marriage of Canaan (*sic.* Ed.), "Oh that you felt what I feel now!" and He had never any rest till He felt the love of God shed abroad abundantly in his heart by the Holy Ghost. His parish has shared richly in the late outpouring of the Spirit and whilst /71/ I was preaching and assisting in the Sacrament Our Saviour filled his people as with new wine. The arrows of conviction seemed also to fly about. There was much people and some crying out, and as it did not give offense and as I thought country people could not so well restrain themselves as those of a more polite Education in the Town, I did not so much insist upon them holding their peace, especially as they did not prevent my speaking so as to be heard.

Lord I lack wisdom to be taught how to act at all times and in all places. Thou hast promised to give it to those that ask thee. Grant it me for thy Dear Son's sake. Amen and amen.

1744/45.

Tuesday, January 1st.

Came last night to East-town. Ended the Old Year very happily and began the New Year very comfortably, and preached twice to crowded auditories for Mr. Pritt, a Young Zealous Candidate for the Ministry, who has been blessed much in late times. The power of the Lord was indeed among /72/ the

people. My heart as well as the hearts of others were filled with praise. We looked upon it as a token for good that we should have a Happy New Year, and the road from the meeting-house to the place where I lodged being pretty solitary, we gave vent to our Joy in singing a solemn hymn of praise.

O Lord hasten the time when we shall sing the New Song and begin the eternal New Year in the Kingdom of Heaven. Even so come Lord Jesus, come quickly.

Wednesday, January 2nd.

Reached Taunton, twelve miles from East-town, last night and preached there for the Rev'd Mr. Crocker, another Young Zealous, Servant of the Glorious Jesus, who knew nothing experimentally /73/ of the Power of the Redeemer's Resurrection till the late revival of Religion. He is a young man of pregnant parts and has been made instrumental of doing much good and bringing many souls to the Lamb's Blood since He has been called of God himself. The people under his care have been highly favored, but like many other places have lost their first love and several that were under convictions have apostatized. This has stirred up the corruptions of many who cannot bear sound doctrine and they have endeavoured to stop the Minister's mouth here and elsewhere by threatening to take away or withhold the Minister's salary.

Being led to discourse in the evening on Satan's tempting Christ, I could not help saying that they who would not pay their Minister unless He preached so as to please their corrupt hearts, were too much /74/ like the Devil who said unto Jesus, "All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Our Lord was remarkably with us, the two first sermons. Several Ministers from several other places attended as likewise some young Candidates for the ministry. We were very happy together, and my own soul was so sweetly refreshed that I could not help saying that I believed the Lord was preparing me for some fresh opposition.

Give me thy strength, Thou God of Power
Then let winds blow and thunder roar;
Thy faithful witness will I be
'Tis fixt, I can do all through Thee.

Thursday, January 3rd.

Preached thrice at Raynham, about 5 miles from Taunton,

for the Rev'd Mr. Wales,²⁷ to very crowded /75/ Auditories and had as sweet appearances of the Divine Presence as in any place where I have yet been.

After [preaching] sermon, five or six Negroes desired to speak to me. One seemed to be filled with love of God two had been Backsliders, and the other was slightly wounded. I was much helped in discoursing with them.

Dear Mr. Wale stood by, and in prayer our hearts were melted much, hoping that the great God would revive his work in this and the other parishes which have already been favored with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

O thou prayer hearing God! grant that we may not be disappointed of our hope. Lord we believe, help our Unbelief. /76/

[Saturday, January 5th]

Fryday, January 4th.

Preached Yesterday twice at Barkly²⁸ for the Rev'd Mr. Toby, whose parish has been also visited in the late season of peculiar grace.

As I rode along an Old Man came out of his house brought his Bible, and enquired which was Mr. Whitefield, desired me to show him my Commission to go about preaching. I told him if he would come to the Meeting I would show him for the pulpit was my throne and I always opened my Commission there. Accordingly I preached from those words of our Lord, "Go ye out into all the world and preach the Gospel to every Creature. He that believeth and is baptised /77/ shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned."

Both the fore and afternoon the Lord was with us and I spent the remainder part of the Evening in sweet fellowship with Mr. Toby and another humble follower and Minister of the Lord Jesus, who hath also met with some bad usage for his hearty adherence to the cause, work and truth of God.

Well did our Lord tell Ananias, concerning Paul, I will show him what great things He must suffer for my name sake.

The Old Serpent has got a party in New as well as Old England. Blessed be God for that promise, The Seed of the woman shall bruise the Serpent's head. Cut short O Lord,

²⁷ Rev. John Wales. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 646n, and *Christian History*, II, 357.

²⁸ Whitefield wrote as he pronounced, "Barkly" for Berkley. Rev. Samuel Tobey was pastor here. Sprague, *op. cit.*, 646n, and *Christian History* 357.

Thy /78/ work in righteousness and [bruise] tread Satan shortly under thy people's feet.

Saturday, January 5th.

Preached once this morning for the Rev'd Mr. Fisher, not to a very large Auditory, or so deeply an affected one as was to be seen elsewhere. However we could say, God was with us, and after sermon, I rode near twenty miles in company with a Dear Young Candidate for the ministry and one Young Prince called The Blind Boy in that pamphlet signed A.M. which I answered when last in Scotland.²⁹

He is about 24 years of age, and was first wrought upon, /79/ as he told me, when I preached on the Common that day that terrible accident fell out at Mr. Checkley's Meeting-house about four years agoe.³⁰ I am told he has an excellent memory as well as a sound experience of a change of heart and life. He has been approbated by several Ministers and preached frequently in the late times. He is now chiefly near Trutown and Tiverton where there is no settled [minister] Pastor. He meets with acceptance and if He had proper books and a person to read to Him I think He would make a useful Judicious Preacher of a Crucified Jesus. Well might it be foretold of Emmanuel that he was to open the eyes /80/ of the Blind. O that all saw so much loveliness in Christ as this Blind Boy does!

Sunday, January 6th.

Reached Attleboro, near 20 miles from Deighton,³¹ about 8 last night. A place that has been most highly favored indeed,

²⁹ Chauncey printed his *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* while Whitefield was in Scotland in 1743. Other hostile pamphlets are noted in Tyerman, but I have not as yet located any by "A. M." or any previous reference made by Whitefield to this Blind Boy.

³⁰ "In the afternoon I went to preach at the Rev'd Mr. Checkley's meeting house; but God pleased to humble us by a very awful providence," writes Whitefield in his seventh journal (Wale, *op. cit.*, 462). "The meeting house being filled, though there was no real danger, on a sudden all the people were in an uproar, and so unaccountably surprised, that some threw themselves out of the windows, others threw themselves out of the gallery, and others trampled upon one another; so that five were actually killed, and others dangerously wounded. I happened to come in the midst of the uproar and saw two or three lying upon the ground in a pitiable condition. God was pleased to give me presence of mind; so I gave notice I would preach immediately in the Common. The weather was wet, but many thousands followed in the field."

³¹ The name Deighton, now spelled Dighton, is pronounced "Dy-ton." On Long Island the family name "Dayton" was pronounced in the same way.

above many others in the present day.³² Was comforted with a letter I received from Charles-Town which [I heard] informed me of the welfare of the family at Bethesda and that they had heard the news of my arrival. Blessed be God!

Preached twice and [help] assisted the Rev'd Mr. Wells in administering the Holy Communion /81/ of the body and blood of Christ. But a sweeter sacrament I scarce ever saw. King Solomon showed Him in the gallery, nay He sat at his Royal Table. He brought his people into his banqueting house, and his banner over them was love.³³

The communicants seemed to be filled as with New wine, and I believe it was a feast of fat things to many souls.

Under both sermons there was a very great concern and melting among the people, which, together with the account Mr. Wells gave me of what God had done in his parish, was very comforting and confirming to my soul.

After Evening service and taking some bodily refreshment, I rode 6 miles to Wrentham in as cold an air as ever I felt, but my heart was warmed by stopping at the house of a sick woman who had an /82/ exceeding great desire to see me. She seemed to be wailing for the consolation of Israel. At her desire I sung and prayed and the next morning she sent me word God had answered prayer, and given her Himself, so thus she could be content without hearing or seeing the Creature.

O the happiness of having our all in God! Lord when shall this once be?

Monday, January 7th.

[Preached in] Reached Wrentham about ten at night and lay very comfortably at the house of the Rev'd Mr. Messenger, who, with his Son-in-Law that lives near him, has been a Cordial promoter of the Glorious work of God. They seemed to be two downright Nathanaels. I preached twice with but little interval, and I believe /83/ it was a convicting time for sinners as well as a day of great consolation to the Saints. Many, very many, were deeply affected. Indeed the concern seemed

³² See *Christian History*, II, 357. Rev. Habijah Weld, whom Whitefield here calls Wells, had conducted a revival in 1740 in which 200 were added to his church, one of whom, Naphthali Daggett, was destined to be pastor at Smithtown, Long Island, and President of Yale. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 353.

³³ Song of Solomon 1:12 and 2:4. This is evidently Whitefield's text and topic. Hints like this are common in his journals.

to be general. There was a very great weeping and crying out, but nothing as I saw that was extravagant. One of the Ministers told me, Our Lord had kept the good wine until the last, and Mr. Haven said He did not doubt but hundreds felt the power of the Everlasting God. To Him and Him alone be all the Glory.

About an hour after preaching, as I rode near the meeting house I heard many continuing their cry after Jesus, and about 10 at night I reached Mr. Foy's at Milton, where many Boston Friends received me with great joy, and I trust we were in some degree thankful /84/ for the mercies we and God's people had received since I left that [home] house a few days agoe.

I do not remember I scarce had a pleasanter circuit since I have been a Preacher. I do not know that we have had one dry meeting. Everywhere visible tokens of the Divine Presence attended the word. My bodily strength was wonderfully kept up and renewed and my soul exceeding happy. The congregations very large, notwithstanding it was winter. Generally we were remarkably favored with dry weather.

Sometimes near a dozen Ministers, Candidates for the ministry (all as far as could be judged) hearty friends to the Glorious /85/ Bridegroom, attended me, and what I saw myself in the Congregations and what I gathered by conversing with some people, and what I heard from their own Ministers mouths [fully] more and more convinced me that [not one hundred] God had visited his Dear New England in a most Extraordinary manner.

O that all knew the day of their visitation!

Tuesday, January 8th.

Reached Boston this afternoon, and preached in the Evening lecture for the Rev'd Dr. Coleman, and Hearing that notwithstanding both my conduct and preaching breathed nothing but love, that many would harp upon the things; I thought it my duty to publish /86/ a letter which I had written in the time of my sickness to the Rev'd Dr. Chauncey. May God give it his blessing. It was as follows:

(Item, insert the letter).³⁴

³⁴ This letter, fourteen pages long, was written from Portsmouth, Nov. 19, 1744, but the preface gives date of publication as "Boston, Jan. 18, 1745." It is a courteous reply to the 454 pages of Chauncey's *Seasonable Thoughts*. Cf. Tyerman, *op. cit.*, II, 129.

Saturday, February.

Continued preaching for near a month at Boston, sometimes once, sometimes twice a day, to very crowded and affected auditories, and [frequently] with much of the divine Presence, and notwithstanding I preached so often, besides exhorting several times a week in my own Lodging and at private houses, yet the people crowded more and more and would my private business have admitted, I might have spent whole days in talking with souls; but I generally sent them to /87/ their own Ministers.

We had two remarkable Sunday Evening Lectures. In the day I attended on stated sermons, and felt much of the Divine Presence, especially under the Ministry of Mr. Webb, and could not help [thinking] blessing God who had yet left himself so many faithful Witnesses in Boston, who preached the truth as it is in Jesus.

About the last week I opened a 7 o'clock morning Lecture at the Rev'd Mr. Moorhead's meeting house, which to my great surprise and the surprise of hundreds more, was so crowded that [multitu] numbers were obliged to return home because they could not come in.

People came from all quarters, some 4 or 5 miles off, and it seems very delightful to see those who had been used to lie in /88/ bed till 8 or 9 in the morning, running to hear the word in a cold winter season, by break of day, and hearing a sermon before the time they usually got up.

I opened the lecture with these words:

(A blank space in the ms. Ed.)

and then began with the [book] 1st of Genesis [as I had done before in Scotland.] Our Saviour fulfilled that saying, "They that seek me early shall find me," for He visited both Preacher and Hearers with the light of his countenance, and as the sun in the firmament rose upon the earth, so did the /89/ Sun of Righteousness arise upon them that heard him, with healing under his wings.

I did not think of continuing in Boston above a week, but the Gentlemen of Harvard College having thought proper to publish a testimony against me, I thought it my duty to stay longer in town and employ what time I could redeem from my

public administrations and other more immediate avocations, in writing them the following answer.

(Here insert my answer to the College.)³⁵

Several other testimonies were published one against me; but one or two being downright scurrilous, and the others founded merely upon hearsay and only idem for idem with that from the College, /90/ I did not think myself called from more important affairs to answer them.

Those words of Nehemiah came much upon my heart

(Blank, evidently for the insertion of "We are doing a great work and can not come down." Neh. 6:3. Ed.)

And the story of Joseph's [being hated] maletreated by his Bretheren because of his dreams and very much comforted and supported my soul. Isaac's blessing refreshed me also. For the archers shot at me and hated me, but the Lord notwithstanding made me a fruitful bough.

My bow abode in strength, and the Arms of my hands were daily made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.

Thanks be to God for this unspeakable mercy. /91/

Saturday, February:

[Preached last Saturday at Esq'r Ryall's]. Left Boston last Saturday after having preached upon these words, "Put on therefore, as the elect of God, Holy and Beloved, bowels of Compassion, meekness, longsuffering, humbleness of mind, forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any, as God for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you, so also do ye."

The same evening I preached at Esq'r Ryall's.

35 The answer is dated "Boston, January 23rd, 1745," and the tone and style are of a high order. The publication referred to as from the gentlemen of Harvard is *A testimony from the President and Professors, Tutors, and Hebrew Instructor of Harvard College, against the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield and his conduct*. Following Whitefield's *Answer*, (which is too long to quote here, but part of which may be found in Tyerman, *op. cit.*, II, 134), two more publications were launched at him by Harvard, *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, by way of Reply to His answer to the College Testimony against him and his conduct, by Edward Wigglesworth, D.D., Professor of Divinity in said College, to which is added the Reverend President's Answer to the things charged upon him, by the said Mr. Whitefield as Inconsistancies* (Boston 1745, 4to, 68 pp.) As Tyerman notes Whitefield gave the best answer by donating books to the college library, and the College on August 2nd, 1768, records a vote of thanks to Whitefield for a new edition of his journals, Tyerman, *op. cit.*, II, 132ff. Seven pamphlets against Whitefield in addition to the three already mentioned are noted by Tyerman. The authors were The Faculty of Yale and President Clapp, Rev. Nathaniel Henchman of Lynn, Rev. Theophilus Pickering of Ipswich, Rev. Nathaniel Eells of Scituate, and several ministerial associations.

On Lord's Day twice for Rev'd Mr. Chiver's of Lynn.

On Monday once at Maulden and once at Esq'r Ryall's.
On Tuesday twice at Lyn again.

On Wednesday Evening I reached Ipswich, where I preached twice on Thursday and on Fryday, and once on Saturday. But with /92/ what sweetness to my own soul and satisfaction to the souls of others I cannot easily tell. Everywhere and at every sermon the blessed Jesus vouchsafed to follow the word with very promising impressions and though at Lyn my body was but weak, yet the Father of mercies and God of all consolations strengthened me visibly by his power in the Inner man.

Several Ministers came to me at Ipswich to give me fresh invitations to preach in some Neighboring Parishes. Good Old Mr. Rogers and his sons were much delighted and we had repeated reasons given us to lie low at the foot stool of free Grace and repeat our acts of praise and thanksgiving. Accept them at our hand, Good and Gracious God, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen, and Amen. /93/

Wednesday, Feb.:

Went to Gloucester on Cape Ann, 13 miles from Ipswich, where I had promised to go when here last if ever I came to New England again. Was met on the road by the Rev'd and aged Mr. White,³⁶ and the young Rev'd Mr. Rogers, the Ministers of the Town. The latter told me my Journals were blessed to make the first abiding impressions on his heart, and the former is a Good Old Man that frankly told me, he wished one or two things cleared up to Him, which I accordingly did in a few minutes as we rode along, to his full satisfaction O that all [would] who have it in their power would take a like method!

On Lord's Day morning I /94/ preached for Mr. Rogers, in the afternoon for Mr. White, and in the Evening a third time, for Mr. Rogers.

On Monday I preached for Mr. White.

On Tuesday twice for the Rev'd Mr. Broadstreet³⁷ at Squam, about 9 miles distant, and on Wednesday for the Rev'd

³⁶ Rev. John White of Gloucester. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 152n, and *Christian History*, I, 165, II, 41.

³⁷ Rev. Benjamin Bradstreet, of Squam, now Annisquam. *Christian History*, I, 187.

Mr. Jacques.³⁸ All within a few miles one of another. Indeed they were most delightful seasons. All were exceedingly kind. The congregations were large, the weather uncommonly fair and pleasant. Many seemed to be brought under conviction and others to experience a refreshing time from the presence of the Lord, and I could willingly have complied with their invitation to have stayed with them longer would my calls to other places have permitted.

Oh who is like unto our God. If he be for /95/ us, who can be against us.

Thursday, Feb.:

Returned last night to Mr. Rogers, his house at Ipswich, and preached twice today with much freedom at Manchester—miles from thence, to very crowded auditories, for Mr. Roberts,³⁹ a choice Young Candidate for the Ministry and who has a call from Manchester people. He dates his awakening under God, from hearing me at Boston about four years agoe. His conversion was very clear and he was then made much use of in awakening and alarming his fellow students at Harvard College. As far as I could gather from his conversation, the concern among the Students was general and continued for some time. Some were savingly converted /96/ but[since] the greater part, as is customary in general awakening, many [fell off] lost their impressions and have fallen off. Oh that it may be only for a time, that Our Saviour may be more glorified in bringing the backsliders home! [However about four]

Fryday, Feb.:

Returned to Manchester on Thursday night, and preached twice yesterday at Ipswich Hamlet, 4 miles from Ipswich Town, for the Rev'd Mr. Wigglesworth,⁴⁰ who treated me with great civility and told me when I called on him last Wednesday, that there had been a gracious outpouring of the blessed Spirit in his congregation, and that my preaching some /97/ years agoe had been blessed to several of them.

The meeting house was much thronged, some were obliged

38 Rev. Richard Jacques, Gloucester second parish. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 460 n.

39 Possibly Rev. Joseph Roberts. Though he graduated from Harvard in 1741, he was not ordained until 1754, and then at Leicester, Mass. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 419 n.

40 Rev. Samuel Wigglesworth of Ipswich Hamlet, also an M.D., was step-brother to Rev. Edward Wigglesworth of the Harvard faculty. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 145, *Christian History*, I, 164.

to stand without, and Our Saviour was pleased to countenance our waiting upon him. Surely these words in the 8th Psalm are wondrous sweet:

(Blank space. Ed.)

Sunday, February:

Preached once yesterday and thrice this day at Ipswich, where our /98/ Lord was pleased to bless and shine upon his congregation more and more. Never did I see people more attentive, solid, and serious.

I took my leave of them at night by preaching on [Jacob's] Joseph's blessing and indeed our parting was very solemn and affecting. Many came afterwards to me, weeping and wishing that the blessing of Him that was separated from his Bretheren might rest upon me.

O Ipswich, thou hast been highly favored. May the bow of thy Ministers and people abide in strength, and the arms of their hands be strengthened by the hands of the Mighty God of Jacob. /99/

Saturday, Feb.:

Blessed be God for this last week's mercies, for in it I have seen some sweet days of the Son of Man.

On Monday I preached twice for the Rev'd Mr. Jewett of Rowley,⁴¹ 3 miles from Ipswich, an hearty friend to the late times.

On Tuesday, for the Rev'd Mr. Chandler,⁴² 6 miles from thence, who is like minded.

On Wednesday for the Rev'd Mr. Emerson⁴³ of Topsfield, of the same stamp, and on Thursday for the Rev'd Mr. Parsons⁴⁴ of Byfield, and on Fryday at Newbury.

At every place near 7 or 8 Dear Ministers of Jesus Christ accompanied me. Their presence strengthened me and [wonderfully] greatly satisfied the people. Our Saviour fed us as well as /100/ marrow and fatness and caused us to praise him with joyful lips. Each of the Ministers for whom I preached gave me delightful accounts of what God had done for their people. Mr. Emerson in particular told me there had been more

⁴¹ Rev. Jedediah Jewett, of Rowley. *Christian History*, I, 165.

⁴² Rev. James Chandler of the Second Church in Rowley. *Christian History*, I, 165. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 454 n.

⁴³ Rev. John Emerson of Topsfield. *Christian History*, I, 165.

⁴⁴ Rev. Moses Parsons of Byfield. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 448.

done for him and his flock in a year or two than for near twenty years before. At the same time they acknowledged there had been many imprudencies and I did not spare God's children in my sermons, but spoke home to them, and bid them beware that Jesus Christ was not wounded in the house of his friends. It seemed to cut them to the heart. /101/

I preached but little terror. It seemed best to tell them their Father would be angry with them. They looked, they heard, they sighd, and many wept bitterly. At Newbury I waited upon both the Ministers, who treated me civilly but would not consent to my preaching in their pulpits. I was therefore Obliged because it snowed very much on Fryday, having first consulted the ministers that were with me, to preach in a New Meetinghouse belonging to an Incorporated Society, separated by Council from the Rev'd Mr. T.....p.⁴⁵ These sent me an invitation and the Rev'd Mr. Webb advised me to comply with it. Notwithstanding, before sermon, I declared that I did not preach in the /102/ congregation as a separate people, but only for conveniency on account of the weather.

Accordingly on Saturday, the weather being fair, I preached twice in a field belonging to Colonel Pearse with whom I lodged, and the Lord was pleased to melt down the people much.

This was my second time of preaching in the fields this winter. I do not remember that I ever was enabled to preach so frequently, with such short intermission before. For almost a whole fortnight together I preached twice every day, besides riding, with only about a half hours intermission. I found it hard /103/ for my body, but, as it seemed, better for the people's souls, and they could by this means return sooner to their families.

I thought I had a warrant to trust for strength, as my day was to that God, who causes those that wait on him to renew their strength.

45 Joshua Coffin, *A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury* (Boston 1845), gives on p. 370 a list of all pastors in these churches. None fit the abbreviation T—p, but Whitefield in his usual misunderstanding of proper names might well have meant Rev. Christopher Toppan, D.D. The other pastors at this time were Rev. Theodore Barnard, Second Church, and Rev. John Lowell, Third Church, now First in Newburyport.

This "Separated Church" was the Third Congregational Church, separated from the First in 1726. Shortly after Whitefield's visit it was again broken and divided and from it came the founders of the First Presbyterian Church, who called Rev. Jonathan Parsons of Lyme, Conn. for their pastor. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 339 and 340.

Who is (Psalm 103rd.)

Here I parted from [old Mr. White] my good friends, Mr. Jewet, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers Emerson and old Mr. White, who went with me to the Newbury Ministers, and has favored me with his company ever since I came to Cape Ann. Our parting was very affectionate for our fellowship had been very /104/ sweet, and we rejoiced at the prospect of meeting never to part any more, in the presence of that God who made his angels spirits and his Ministers a flaming fire. Make these Thy Dear Servants, O Lord, more and more such, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen, and Amen.

Sunday, February:

Went in the morning to public worship at the Rev'd Mr. T.....s, and in the afternoon to hear the Rev'd Mr. Lowell⁴⁶ and preached about 5 in the Evening to a very large congregation in a persons Court Yard belonging to the Town, where the Lord met both Preacher and Hearers /105/ by his spirit. Afterwards I conversed with several at [Col] my lodgings, that had been greatly comforted, and from all I could hear, had reason to believe Our Saviour had much people in and about New-bury who like New-born babes were desirous of being fed the sincere milk of the word. Lord give it to them for the Dear Son's sake, and grant they may grow thereby.

Saturday, February:

Left New-bury on Monday morning, tho it was somewhat difficult to part with so many souls. Stopped two places on the way and gave an exhortation at each place at the /106/ earnest desire of several. God was with us and also brought me in good season to Portsmouth to dear Mr. S——'s where I expected to have been in a few days after I left Boston, little thinking of having so many invitations on the way. But it is not in man to guide his own steps.

When I came to my lodgings, my thoughts of what God had done for my body and soul, and the door He Himself had opened for my preaching the Everlasting Gospel since I lay there, in all appearance dying and breathing my last, cause

⁴⁶ Rev. John Lowell, of the Third Church. Lowell's change of heart about Whitefield is described in Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 388. He was quite active in opposing the Episcopalians, notably the Rev. Matthias Plant of St. Paul's, Newbury, and the Rev. Arthur Browne of St. John's, Portsmouth. Whitefield mentions taking communion in the latter church.

me to draw near and breath out my soul to God. I thought it was like Jacob's coming to his pillar.

All received /107/ me with open hearts. I preached on Tuesday, and so every day, generally twice all the week, and redeemed as much time as I could to write to my Dear Friends at home.

This day I went to visit General Pepperell⁴⁷ and his Lady, who have always expressed great concern for me. At their desire I preached from the words out of Ecclesiastes:

(Blank space in the manuscript. Ed.)

And then returned to Portsmouth where I preached at their request also, another /108/ sermon to the Officers and Soldiers engaged in the Expedition [from these words] I spoke with much freedom, and have thought however some things have been not managed so well as some serious persons could have issue that good will come out of it to the people of God. Many of them were stirred up to God. I trust the Lord will deal with others for their sake.

A general fast was kept on Thursday, on which I preached twice. Under one sermon our Lord humbled the Hearers very much, and I trust He will send forth a prevailing spirit of repentance, and then according to my second text, "He will—/109/

(Blank space in the manuscript. Ed.)

But also give us Cape Briton.

Lord prepare us either for Victory or defeat. But if it be thy will grant it may be a Garrison for Protestants and thy dear Children who will worship thee in spirit and in truth!

Saturday, March:

I received the Holy Sacrament at the Church of England Congregation, where I have attended once or twice before. Everything was managed with decency and as much order as I have seen /110/ anywhere in America. Preached afterwards, and to large Congregations, in the two meeting houses,

⁴⁷ Whitefield says, in a letter quoted in Tyerman, *op. cit.*, II, 150, that on this occasion Pepperell asked his advice about accepting command of the expedition, and on being encouraged, "he commenced General." There was something displeasing to the soldiers on the occasion of these sermons. Probably Whitefield bore down too hard on their usual vices and predicted defeat unless they changed their ways.

Tyerman, quoting Gillies, *op. cit.*, 106, says of Whitefield, "He began to move farther southward, and after preaching eastward as far as Casco Bay and North Yarmouth, he went through Plymouth, etc.," A natural confusion of directions to one who has not been "Down East." Northward and eastward is correct.

as also once on Monday Evening, for the Rev'd Mr. Shurtleff.⁴⁸

Went 5 miles out of town to Newington on Tuesday, and preached twice for the Rev'd Mr. Adams,⁴⁹ twice on Wednesday for the Rev'd Mr. Blunt on the Island,⁵⁰ and once at General Pepperell's, and twice for the Rev'd Mr. Rogers of Kittery on Thursday, twice for the Rev'd Mr. Pike⁵¹ of Dover on Fryday. Once for the Rev'd Mr. Wise⁵² at Berwick. All seemingly hearty friends to and great sharers in the late blessed work of God. Their accounts of it were very entertaining. Every time the Lord was with us, but he seemed to keep the good wine till the last, for on Saturday, many of God's people /111/ were filled exceedingly. On Fryday I preached, but the meeting house not being large enough to contain the Congregation, (Many Ministers were present) the weather still continued to be uncommonly moderate. Few ever knew so mild a winter in New England before.

O that the winter among God's people of God may be over, the springtime come on, and the voice of the turtle be heard again in the land. Blessed be God, the prospect is very promising. Behold the fields are white ready unto harvest.

Lord what am I that thou shouldst thrust me out as a Laborer into they harvest. Thou didst thrust me, guide, protect, and sanctify me and at last gather me and all thy faithful servants like so many ripe sheafs of corn /112/ into thy heavenly Garner.

Saturday:

I preached twice last Lord's Day for Rev'd Mr. Rogers of Kittery, returned to Portsmouth on Monday Evening and preached once on Tuesday to a very large Auditory for the Rev'd Mr. Allen of (blank space. Ed.) and came back and preached once more to the Soldiers who are now at Portsmouth ready to embark.

48 Rev. William Shurtleff of Portsmouth, whose account is in the *Christian History*, I, 173. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 456, mentions him in a note.

49 Rev. James Adams of Newington, who signed the *Testimony*. *Christian History*, I, 166.

50 The Island, or New Castle Church, Rev. John Blunt, pastor, whose account is in the *Christian History*, I, 199.

51 Rev. Jeremiah Pike, who signs himself as pastor of Somersworth, not Dover, in the *Christian History*, I, 166. For a biographical note see Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 189 n.

52 Rev. Jeremiah Wise of Berwick, Maine, whose account of the revival is in the *Christian History*, I, 169. He was son of Rev. John Wise, author of *The Church's Quarrel Espoused*. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 189.

As I went along, one of the Captains, having a gun in his hand, wished that it was loaded for he would then [quick] in a few minutes send me either to heaven or hell.

Blessed be God, all that go are not of such spirit. Lord pity and convert all those that are.

On Wednesday morning, at their request, I prayed, sang, and gave a /113/ word of exhortation to a company of soldiers in Mr. Sherburn's yard, and then I went to Exeter, where there has been much of the power of God, and, what is uncommon as far as I can hear, it has prevailed chiefly among the rich. Many of them, (I cannot very well tell upon what occasion), have been separated by Council and formed into a Church. But I did not go to them as a separate body, but to preach to all in general.

That my conduct might be as justified as might be, I called upon the Rev'd Mr. Odling,⁵³ the Seniou Minister, and took with me a most unexceptionable man to introduce me. He went in and desired Mr. Odling to speak with me privately, I being come to ask his leave to preach in his pulpit. He declined it and as soon as He came into his parlor, which was about filled with people, after a kind salutation, He began with /114/ me and asked me whether I thought it for the Glory of God to preach in his Parish since it was so divided.

I answered, "Yes, for if there had been faults on both sides, preaching the love of God and the meekness of the Lord Jesus must necessarily sweeten both." I also told him that I had heard there was a great division in his parish lately about settling one of his Sons, nay that his being settled had at least increased the separation, and yet I supposed He thought if for the Glory to have him settled.

"Yes," says he, "but then" says He, "many that were against his son now were once more forward in inviting him."

I replied, by way of argumentum ad hominem, that my conduct in coming to preach at Exeter was then after that account yet more justifiable, for He himself /115/ about 4 years agoe had sent me an invitation to preach in Exeter by his Son who then set by him.

Soon after this, his Son, (who I supposed was his Father's Colleague), took me up and asked me what right I had to

⁵³ Joseph Belcher, *George Whitefield* (New York, 1857), 270-271, gives the name of this pastor as Odlin, and refers to a report in the March 25, 1745 issue of the *Boston Evening Post*.

preach in that Parish, since the people had entered into a Covenant.

I answered, that that was nothing to the purpose unless the people had entered into a Covenant when they chose him never to hear anyone besides himself. I also further told him that the people had a right to private judgement and that He could not, upon Protestant principles, deny the liberty of hearing for themselves. That He was welcome to preach and if He judged proper warn his people against me, but after he had done that, he had done all that He could do as a Christian /116/ Protestant Minister.

He further told me that my practise was contrary to that of the Apostle. "For," says He, "when Paul came into the Synagogue of the Jews, did Paul stand up and speak of his own accord? No, he waited till the Ruler of the Synagogue made a motion, and said, Bretheren if you have any word of Exhortation to the people say on."

I replied, "I thought that was quite foreign to the point in hand, unless I was to come into his Father's meeting house and stand up and preach without his leave. I rather thought it countenanced my proceedings, for Paul did preach, and the Rulers of the Synagogue disliked his preaching, and was Paul therefore silent? No, He /117/ separated the bretheren and disputed for a whole Year in the school of one Tyrannus."

"What," replied He, "will you countenance separations?"

"Nay, sir, you brought the quotation."

"But," says he, "that is not in the same chapter. If you please to examine you will find it so as I say."

Several other things passed pro and con till at last I freely told him that if he thought proper I would challenge him to dispute upon the point all the afternoon, publicly in the Meeting house, before the whole congregation and that I had authority to preach wherever souls were willing to hear, from that text, "whilst you have opportunity, do good unto all men," and from that general Commission, "Go ye into all the world and preach the /118/ Gospel to every Creature," for as we pleaded in prayer the latter part of the promise, "Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world," the former part no doubt must be applicable to this as well as the Apostolick age.

But this would not satisfy, neither did young Mr. Odling seem inclined to go into the meeting house, but debate the matter

there. That I refused, and whilst we were talking further, and they were charging me with making confusion, in came Rev'd Mr. W.....g and the Rev'd Mr. Y.....r who was overheard to say, "Let us go and take him bodily." /119/

Mr. W.....r spoke very loud and told me what confusion I had occasioned at Topsfield. "At Topsfield," said I, "Pray what confusion did I make there? I was called to preach by a vote of the Church and the Minister."

"But," said he, "Mr. Emerson was in a passion, and said He would lose his blood."

"Sir," replied I, "am I answerable for what Mr. Emerson said? Or will you speak against his being in a passion, when you are in such a ferment Yourself?"

"It is time," says He, "for us all to be in a ferment," or something to that purpose.

"But sir," said I, "are you Minister of Topsfield, or are you Minister of this Parish? Is it not time enough for me to talk with you when I /120/ come into Your Parish? I came here only to speak with Mr. Odling."

"No," replied He, "this is not my Parish, but by Mr. Odling's leave I will speak."

I told him He might if He pleased, but that I was going to preach and should not stay to hear him.

He told me I should hear him.

I replied, I would not, and so bowed and was going out, but He followed me and spoke many things very loudly, and just as I was going out He called me back and said to Mr. Odling, "Read the letter, read the letter."

I said, "What letter?" and said, "if it was a private letter, I desired I might have it privately, and if it was a publick letter, since they /121/ intended to read it before that company, they had as good let me have it from the press in a publick manner."

Upon this I took my leave and in about a quarter of an hour, after, one of Mr. Odling's sons brought me the following letter, which after having been told that it had not been read, I received.

(Here insert the letter). /122/

Upon reading it I could not help pitying the Gentlemen, that they should hold me in a party for above an hour, and then send me word they would hold no interview with me.

Surely, thought I, this wisdom and way of behaviour cometh not from above. This is never the way to keep a tottering Ark from falling.

Lord take it into thy hands, and it will be given over into the hands /123/ of the Philistines the Common Enemies of us all.

After this I preached twice in the New Meeting House, it being a very snowy day, to very crowded assemblies, and spoke of the things which make for peace. The God of Peace and love was with us, and we had great reason to say, it is good for us to have been here.

In the Evening I gave a private lecture to a Young Couple lately married, but both in all probability to launch soon into eternity. The sight was affecting, but the consideration that they both knew Jesus, made the prospect of their going, as it /124/ were hand in hand, to the marriage supper of the Lamb, very pleasant and delightful.

O that all were prepared and also *waiting* for that happy hour.

Wednesday:

Preached twice to very large assemblies at Durham, for the Rev'd Mr. Gillman, a holy man of God, remarkable for being an example of putting on the meekness and gentleness of Christ. He has always been reported a very moral man, but dates the time of his /125, 126, 127/

(Pages have been torn out here, Ed.)

hands, carry them in thy bosom and give them forever into the hands of devouring Wolves.

Saturday:

Preached yesterday twice with much of divine power to large Congregations for the Rev'd Mr. Cushing⁵⁴ at (Blank. Ed.) and today once for the Rev'd Mr. Main of Rochester⁵⁵ [utmost] outermost settlement in the province of New Hampshire, where they fetch Masts for the King of Great Briton. They lie most exposed to the Indians, and are obliged here and adjacent provinces to build Garrisons for their defense.

But I thought, the situation was very delightful, and could

⁵⁴ I identify this minister as Rev. James Cushing of Plaistow, N. H., who was son of Rev. Caleb Cushing and Elizabeth (Cotton) Cushing of Salisbury, Mass. See Cushing genealogy in Deane's *History of Scituate*, 258.

⁵⁵ Rev. Amos Main of Rochester signed the *Testimony. Christian History*, I, 166.

not help looking over the present uninhabited Woods, /128/ between this and Canada, with a believing prospect that these howling wildernesses would, ere long, in God's time, be turned into fruitful fields, and that Jesus would take them as being given Him by the Father into his own possession.

I thought I felt something of what the Patriarch Abraham felt when he saw the Redeemer's day afar off, and rejoiced. We wait for thy visitation O Lord.

Monday:

Preached yesterday twice for the Rev'd Mr. Pike, and this morning once for /129/ the Rev'd Mr. Wise, of Berwick. All three Golden seasons whenever Jesus was pleased to lift up the light of his countenance upon many souls. The mentioning of the sudden death of a man lately crushed to death in an instant by the rolling of a great Log over his body, was blessed, I believe, to put many in mind of and to set them upon preparing for the latter end.

Lord grant that impressions made may be abiding and not prove as alas too too many do, like a morning cloud, or the early dew, that passeth away.

Set out last Monday, very weak in body, and after many discouragements in my mind, upon a new Circuit, Eastward, where I was under an engagement to go if ever I came again to New /130/ England.⁵⁶

The ground being just about to be broken up and the frost not gone out of it rendered riding dangerous.

But being apprehensive that take altogether this would be the most convenient season, and Messers Pike, Rogers, and Wise, with several other Friends being willing to accompany me, we went on in the strength of Jesus Christ, and found everything far beyond expectation.

By Saturday Evening we got as far as North Yarmouth, about a hundred and thirty miles East from Boston.

(There are two blank pages here, and then copies of several letters written in 1746, which end this book. Evidently it was never finished, and was never given to the printer. Ed.)

⁵⁶ Belcher, *op. cit.*, 270, says, "Early in March we find him making an excursion into the east, as we hear of him both at Berwick and Portland. In the latter place, he not only made powerful impression on the people but on their minister." Belcher then quotes from a *Journal* of Rev. Thomas Smith of Falmouth, Maine. See *Christian History*, I, 166. His father, Thomas Smith, merchant of Boston, married a woman with an Irish name, Mary Curran. Smith's *Journal* was kept from 1719 to 1788 and extracts published in 1821. Sprague, *op. cit.*, I, 328.

THE PRESBYTERIAN AND CONGREGATIONAL CONVENTION OF WISCONSIN, 1840-1850

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The Plan of Union adopted in 1801 by the General Association of Connecticut and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was a memorable expression of the spirit of Christian unity in the face of a great missionary task. But its particular provisions for the working together of the Congregational and Presbyterian polities were little utilized. The "Accommodation Plan" adopted in 1808 was the main instrument of organization in the spirit of the Plan of Union. According to this a Congregational church, remaining such internally, might join a presbytery and be represented in the presbytery by its minister and a lay delegate. Such churches received the nickname "Presbygational", or were called "Plan of Union churches."

Under this arrangement, which was referred to both as the Plan of Union and the Accommodation Plan, the two systems worked together with great success in New York and the Great Lakes basin. Their co-operation reached Wisconsin about 1835.

The net effect was to advance Presbyterianism at the expense of Congregationalism. The former possessed a compact organization in which its members had a tenacious faith, while the latter were loosely organized and without denominational consciousness. This trend toward Presbyterianism is seen in New York where, in spite of the fact that most of the settlers were New England Congregationalists, there was not a single Congregational association by 1822, all overhead organizations being presbyteries.¹

But strict Presbyterians did not consider this to be in their favor, for there were modifications in the Plan of Union churches that did not meet their approval. By the 1820's, there was

¹ W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier: the Presbyterians* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1936), 43.

a great deal of Presbyterian criticism of the "Presbygational" churches. Along with it went opposition to the missionary societies that supported work in Plan of Union territory.² Most of these were in New England and were composed of Congregationalists.³ In order to meet the demand for missionary work, many Presbyterians joined in the support of these and in founding other societies. When the agitation over the Plan of Union arose, the conservative or Old School party urged that Presbyterians abandon these voluntary societies and establish purely denominational work. In 1826, the Board of Missions (created in 1816) was reorganized for more effective work in the West. In this same year the American Home Missionary Society was organized, consisting of a number of voluntary societies, mostly Congregational, some Dutch Reformed interests, and the Domestic Missionary Society, an amalgamation of some Presbyterian societies working under the Plan of Union. Thus the lines came to be drawn between the Presbyterian Board of Missions representing the orthodox anti-Plan of Union elements, and the American Home Missionary Society representing Plan of Union Presbyterians.⁴

Dissatisfaction with the Plan of Union, then, resulted in an attack on the American Home Missionary Society. There were other complications, however, which ought to be mentioned. The conservative Presbyterians were afraid of Congregational innovations not only in church government, but also in theology. This was the period of the beginnings of the Unitarian movement in New England, along with improvements on Calvinism such as "Taylorism." Evidences of the "new divinity" in Plan of Union churches caused dismay among the rigid Presbyterians.⁵ In addition, there was the ever increasing question of slavery to cause division. New England abolitionism was coming into the "Presbygational" churches to annoy many Old School Presbyterians.⁶ The final result of these divisions of opinion

2 For instances see *Ibid.*, 100-102.

3 For an account of these see O. W. Elsbee, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815* (Williamsport, Pa., 1928).

4 See Sweet, *op. cit.*, 100-102; also W. O. Brackett, Jr., "The Rise of the New School in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. to the Reunion of 1869," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XIII (1928-9), 117ff.

5 See Brackett, *op. cit.*, 147; and Sweet, *op. cit.*, 107-110.

6 For a recent and penetrating study of the slavery issue in Presbyterianism, see Sweet, *op. cit.*, 111-122.

was that an Old School majority in the General Assembly of 1837 abrogated the Plan of Union in its entirety and excised from the church four New School synods and their presbyteries, churches, and members. The excised members and their sympathizers, almost half the church, the next year organized the "Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," asserting by taking this name that their church was the rightful continuation of the Presbyterian Church. This New School Church, having no other missionary interests, officially adopted the American Home Missionary Society.

But Congregationalists were by no means unanimously attached to the American Home Missionary Society. Coincidentally with the divisive trends in national psychology, Congregationalism belatedly began to develop a denominational consciousness. It had become increasingly clear that the Plan of Union operated to benefit Presbyterianism at Congregational expense. Consequently there arose a group of men, principally around Boston, who severely attacked Presbyterianism, the Plan of Union, and the American Home Missionary Society, and preached the gospel of the unique mission of Congregationalism. This party, which called itself the "Puritan" party, was strong enough by 1839 to establish as an organ of propaganda, the *New England Puritan*.

Opposition to the Plan of Union on the part of both Presbyterians and Congregationalists was thus fairly well developed by the decade of the forties. Those who supported it were New School Presbyterians and the less denominationally-minded Congregationalists who looked for their main support to the American Home Missionary Society. This group included the early missionaries in Wisconsin. Imbued with the ideals underlying the Plan of Union, they organized the Wisconsin union and made it function successfully at the time of bitterest attack. In time it was forced to succumb to the forces of denominationalism, but unlike its operation anywhere else, the Wisconsin union became Congregational.

An examination of the old manuscript record book of the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention of Wisconsin, the predecessor of the present Wisconsin Congrega-

tional Conference, reveals that the first organization was a presbytery. The organization of this presbytery, the Presbytery of Wisconsin, January 17, 1839, thus sets the date for the observance of the centennial of a state Congregational body! However, this presbytery was intended from the first to be a union body because, though all four ministers involved were Presbyterians, one of the two constituent churches was Congregational. Furthermore, definite provisions were made at the first meeting for the admission of other Congregational churches. The "Presbygational" basis of the Presbyterian churches is further evidenced by the provision that they might elect elders for terms.⁷

The second meeting of the little presbytery began on July 4, 1839. The first item was the admission to membership of Stephen Peet, of whom we shall speak later. At this time the name was changed to "Presbytery of Milwaukee" in order to reserve the more general name for a synod.⁸ At this session, steps also were taken to make the presbytery even more of a union body. The stated clerk (Peet) was instructed to draw up a letter inviting Congregationalists to send delegates to the next meeting of the presbytery, and a committee was appointed "to prepare articles of practice and rules for regulating Presbytery, based on principles embraced in the constitution of the Presbyterian church and the 'Plan of Union', and adapted to circumstances of the churches in the Territory."⁹ As a result of these actions, a number of Congregationalists were present at the next meeting which took place February 11, 1840. The presbytery adopted the articles of procedure submitted by the committee appointed at the previous session, articles allowing for the inclusion of Congregational churches and modifying the presbytery along the line of the "accommodation plan." The careful attention to system and order that is characteristic of Presbyterianism is shown by the action

7 "Minutes of the Regular and Special Sessions of the Presbytery of Wisconsin, 1839-1840, and of the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention of Wisconsin, 1840-1861," 25-28. (This is deposited with the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison.)

8 Peet to the Secretaries of the American Home Missionary Society, August 13, 1839. In view of the fact that there were as yet only four ministerial members, the boldness of the vision of the presbytery is remarkable. (This letter, and those subsequently quoted, are in the files of the American Home Missionary Society and deposited in the Hammond Library of Chicago Theological Seminary.)

9 "Minutes," 29-33.

appointing a committee to prepare a Confession of Faith and select suitable hymns and psalms for the use of the newly organized frontier churches.¹⁰

At the fourth meeting, June 16, 1840, the presbytery took the momentous step of deciding to issue a formal invitation to the Congregationalists to attend a special meeting in order to consider an organic union.¹¹ It is apparent that the Presbyterians were almost desperately seeking to consummate the union at almost any cost, while the Congregationalists were not eager for it,¹² and were finally won over by the strenuous efforts of one of the Congregational ministers, Otis Curtis, who visited practically every church of that denomination in person.¹³ Perhaps the eagerness of the Presbyterians may be ascribed to the influence of a few men, such as Peet, whose original loyalty to the principle of union may have been enhanced by recent experiences, notably that of being forced out of the denomination and compelled to form a new one. This would likewise be true of the members of their churches. Another motive may have been the conscious or unconscious desire for survival in the face of an immigration that was increasingly Congregational in character. The considerations that influenced final acceptance by the Congregationalists are likewise obscure. Enough of them may have come from Plan of Union territory to turn the sentiment in favor of union.¹⁴ The fact that both denominations were alike dependent on the American Home Missionary Society undoubtedly made for the union. Nor should the fine spirit of Christian brotherhood that by all accounts pervaded the uniting session be neglected.

This session was held at Troy in a country school house beginning October 6, 1840. It was a special meeting of the presbytery and a special convention of the Congregationalists. After meeting separately, union was agreed upon in a joint session. As the record reads, "At length, after a very

10 *Ibid.*, 34-38.

11 *Ibid.*, 39-44. A printed copy of the letter sent out is inserted between pages 44 and 45.

12 D. A. Sherman to the A. H. M. S., December 17, 1840.

13 S. Peet, *History of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches and Ministers in Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1851), 24.

14 The fact that many Congregationalists came from Plan of Union territory is explicitly stated and emphasized in the defense of Wisconsin that was drawn up to be sent to the *New England Puritan* in 1846 but never published. A copy is in the archives of Beloit College.

solemn & affecting season of prayer in which the Spirit of God evidently pervaded the convention, amendments were agreed upon and the general plan assented to."¹⁵ One of the stumbling-blocks was fear on the part of the Congregationalists that there would be too close overhead supervision. While the original proposition had been to admit Congregational churches and ministers to the presbytery on some basis following the "accommodation plan," the final decision was that the term "presbytery" be dropped and "convention" substituted. The convention was in time to become analogous to a synod or conference, when district conventions, analogous to presbyteries or consociations, would be established. In the use of these neutral terms, as well as in other minor matters, the Wisconsin union differed from previous union arrangements. It operated wholly in the field of overhead organization. The fundamental basis, according to Peet, was that individual churches were to be either strictly Presbyterian or strictly Congregational, not a mixture, and that the convention was to bear the same relationship to a given church as would a presbytery or consociation respectively. In relations between the convention and a Presbyterian church, the Book of Discipline was to be followed, and in relations with Congregational churches, the usages common in New England would be followed.¹⁶ It was a completely dual organization.

The formation of the union convention started a great movement of advance. The number of ministers and churches increased from a mere handful in 1840 to over a hundred in 1850. While the great preponderance of Congregational immigration caused three Congregational churches to be formed for every Presbyterian, the close, half-Presbyterian organization gave great effectiveness to the missionary work. In effect, Congregationalism in Wisconsin owes its prominence to the use of Presbyterian methods in the early days. Yet this extension would not have been possible without the backing of the American Home Missionary Society. The agent of this society from 1841 to 1848 was Stephen Peet, and because of the fact that

15 "Minutes," 47. Accounts of the meeting are scanty, only two outside the record being known to the writer, *viz.*, Sherman to the A. H. M. S., December 17, 1840, and Jeremiah Porter to the A. H. M. S., October 27, 1840. The latter was published in the *Home Missionary*, but not exactly as Porter wrote it.

16 Peet, *op. cit.*, 36-39.

the agent was of strategic influence in the founding and growth of the new churches, and more especially because Peet happened to be a man of unusual vision and practical energy, the story of the Presbyterian and Congregational advance in the forties very largely revolves around him.

Peet was born in Vermont in 1797, but grew to manhood in northern Ohio. He graduated from Yale in 1823, spent a year at Princeton Theological Seminary, and graduated from Auburn in 1826. After serving as pastor of a Plan of Union Presbyterian church in Ohio, he became the agent of the Western Seaman's Friend Society and for four years worked among, and on behalf of, the sailors on the Great Lakes and Erie Canal. In 1837 he moved to Green Bay, Wisconsin, under a commission from the American Home Missionary Society.¹⁷

Peet's active mind told him that Wisconsin was entering upon a period of rapid development. He saw that the strategy of home missions should be to enter the field with the first settlements and grow with them. In contrast to the few who had preceded him, his interest and vision was not confined to one station, but literally took in the entire unformed state. He began almost at once to urge that more missionaries be sent. In June, 1839, he made a journey "for the purpose of survey and investigation," as he said, and, quite characteristically, "to put things right." He found many Presbyterians who would gladly organize churches if they could be assured of pastoral leadership. As he said a number of times in various ways, the country was fast filling up and now was the time to lay foundations.¹⁸

This tour of Stephen Peet was of great significance, not only in the history of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, but in the general history of the state as well. On the basis of his journey, he wrote an article about Wisconsin which elicited great interest, especially in New England.¹⁹ Its effect as a stimulus to migration on the part of church people was no doubt in part responsible for the high type of immigrants who came to Wisconsin, though Peet's primary purpose was to induce support of missionaries.

17 There is no published biography of Peet, but the Rev. L. E. Murphy of Dubuque, Iowa, is now preparing one.

18 See especially his letters of March 29 and April 9, 1839.

19 *The Home Missionary and Pastors' Journal* (September, 1839), XII, 100.

As a natural result of his voluntary interest in Wisconsin as a whole, there grew up in Peet's mind the idea that a man should be commissioned as an agent to work in the territory at large. Under his influence, the little Presbytery of Milwaukee passed a resolution on July 5, 1839, asking for such an agent.²⁰ It seems apparent that Peet had himself in mind as the agent. In transmitting, as Stated Clerk, the resolution of the Presbytery, he remarked that some of the other missionaries had urged him to seek the pastorate of the Presbyterian church in Milwaukee recently vacated. He had at first rejected the suggestion, but on further reflection had concluded that with Milwaukee as his residence near the center of the missionary field, he could do much more in the surrounding country than from Green Bay.²¹ The American Home Missionary Society replied to the resolution that though the need for an agent was great, financial conditions made it absolutely impossible.²² On receipt of this intelligence, Peet accepted the call to Milwaukee, feeling it to be a special token of divine leadership that he would be able to act as an informal agent without expense to the Society. He wrote, "I am at liberty to spend a portion of the time . . . in your services, promoting the objects specified in the resolution of the Presbytery."²³

For two years, from 1839 to 1841, Peet labored at Milwaukee and journeyed out into the surrounding country apace—to supply the growing number of churches with pastors, great deal. Two main objects stand out in his correspondence and to bring about the establishment of the full time agency. He was fired with the idea of the necessity for haste, not only to forestall other denominations, but to provide the facilities of religion before the new settlers should become lost to religion through preoccupation with material matters. Moreover, the door of opportunity was wide open. There were many places which "if seen and instructed" would raise funds for a minister. Peet's aid in revivals was repeatedly requested by the feeble churches. On account of the interest stimulated by his article in the *Home Mission-*

20 "Minutes," 33.

21 Peet to the A. H. M. S., August 13, 1839.

22 Badger to Peet, September 27, 1839. (Letter Book M, no. 94).

23 Peet to Badger, October 14, 1839.

ary, he was burdened with correspondence. Thus an agent was an imperative need.²⁴

As the financial crisis gradually passed away, the Home Missionary Society was able to commission more missionaries for Wisconsin. While only two came in 1839, eight came in 1840. They nearly all landed at Milwaukee and went to Peet for advice about securing fields—and, incidentally, for entertainment. The Society granted Peet a small additional sum to care for his added expenses, and in 1841, as a result of a combination of circumstances, invited him to become its agent for Wisconsin. One of these circumstances was the improvement in the state of the treasury. Other circumstances were those connected with the local situation at Milwaukee which forced Peet to resign his pastorate. These need not concern us here, except to say that Peet, acting sincerely according to his best judgment, opposed the formation of a Congregational church in Milwaukee. He felt it to be unwise to form a new church when the Presbyterian church was not self-supporting. However, some important people became alienated from him and accused him of a prejudice against Congregationalism. As a result, he redoubled his efforts to secure the agency. On April 10, 1841, without informing the Society of his local troubles, he wrote a letter entirely on the subject of the agency. Said he, "The present, I apprehend, is the most critical period in our history. We are in a forming state." The future of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism demanded that an agent be put on the field at once, for if help were not given, the settlers would turn to other denominations. On account of the source of immigration, Congregationalism and Presbyterianism were dominant, but they could not long remain so without help.²⁵

Whatever may have been Peet's personal motives, conscious or unconscious, the letter, as in the case of previous ones, showed a breadth of vision and a comprehension of strategy that was not lost upon the secretaries of the American Home Missionary Society, Charles Hall and Milton Badger. They replied that it had been decided to have an agent and asked if Peet would consider the office himself!²⁶

²⁴ Peet to Badger, April 10, 1840.

²⁵ Peet to the A. H. M. S., April 10, 1841.

²⁶ Badger to Peet, April 27, 1841.

Peet immediately replied in the affirmative.²⁷ He lost no time in getting about the business of the agency, though his formal appointment did not begin until June 1, 1841, and he did not receive official notification until the middle of the month. For seven years, then, until March 1, 1848, this capable and energetic pioneer journeyed by all sorts of conveyances in all sorts of weather back and forth over the southern portion of the present Wisconsin. One of the missionaries aptly referred to him in a letter to the Society as "your indefatigable agent."²⁸ While we cannot here follow his movements in detail, we may summarize his policies.

First of all, the freedom from a pastorate enabled Peet to extend greatly his exploration of religious conditions. In some ways this was his greatest contribution, for through him the American Home Missionary Society was able to get first hand competent and confidential information about missionary points. Peet was never a man to mince words, and some of his remarks about places and men were decidedly caustic. His first report as agent listed eight places which he had visited and characterized each of them in concise terms. Thus of Whitewater he said, "The place is growing, and will soon become an important interior village, having good water power & a fine farming country around." He remarked that preaching should be maintained there all the time, that the people had subscribed three hundred dollars and asked one hundred and fifty dollars aid. Of Prairie du Lac (now Milton) he said, "Rev. Dan'l Smith preaches here. They receive 50 Dollars from Amherst Mass. in aid of supporting the gospel."²⁹

Peet was always on the alert for the opportunity to organize new churches. Out of the ninety-two in existence at the termination of his agency, Peet was responsible for the organization of twenty-eight.³⁰ Undoubtedly he was indirectly instrumental in the organization of many others. While no doubt many of these churches would have been organized in time, the availability of an agent for counsel and advice acted as encouragement, and many times the uninvited visit of the dynamic agent became a provocation

²⁷ Peet to Badger, May 12, 1841.

²⁸ J. C. Holbrook to the A. H. M. S., January 16, 1843.

²⁹ Peet to Badger, July 15, 1841.

³⁰ These figures gleaned from Peet, *op. cit.*, 93-172.

to organization, especially as he often came armed with prospects of pastoral leadership and financial assistance.

Technically, the main function of the missionary agents was to recommend from the field amounts to be granted in aid to churches. Where there was an agent, churches made application to him, and he transmitted the application to New York with his recommendation. Peet was an excellent man for this business. He felt that churches should receive the minimum of aid in order that they might become self-supporting as soon as possible. But while he was very economical with the funds of the Society, he knew when to be generous. Thus, for example, he subsidized heavily the feeble and struggling church at Madison because of its location in the capital of the territory. This financial function was at best a difficult one, one in which a man could easily make enemies; accordingly, Peet welcomed the suggestion that a Board of Agency be established which should pass on all financial matters. After considerable correspondence, the Society finally appointed a board consisting of the Congregational and Presbyterian pastors in Milwaukee, a layman from each of these churches, and the agent. It was an able Board and in no sense a rubber stamp for Peet, as it was accused of being. Its individual members were all active and visited many of the frontier churches with Peet or on their own account. The board got into action on December 12, 1843.³¹

Another important service of Agent Peet was in connection with problems of missionary personnel. It was he who corresponded with prospective candidates, who received them when they arrived, who sent them to churches in need of pastors, and who judged the effectiveness of their work when the time came each year for the renewal of their commissions. Some of the missionaries found in him a friend and brother or a "father in Israel," but it is notable that these were for the most part the more energetic and capable. He was a dynamo of energy himself and such a man is apt to be impatient with slower and less able men. In a number of instances Peet got into trouble on account of his harsh judgment of men, in some instances justified, in others unjustified. He had no use for lazy missionaries, but he forgot

³¹ Peet to Badger as follows; November 10, 1842, May 3, August 25, November 22, and December 12, 1843.

that even lazy missionaries had friends. He was unduly critical, especially of new recruits, and gave the impression of being dictatorial. It was in the field of personal relationships that he was least successful. Not only was he at times tactless, but his judgment of men was not always sound, as in the case of David Sherman, an elderly man whose coming Peet opposed and resented, but who became the beloved patriarch of the whole cause in six months. Yet in spite of his shortcomings, it is to Peet that Wisconsin owes the high character of its foundation builders. Inferior men were cleverly discouraged from coming or deftly steered off into other territories if they did come.

One of the problems which loomed large was the maintenance of doctrinal integrity. In those days denominations stood for distinctive types of thought and practice. The lines between them were sharply drawn, and any deviation from the pattern was a real danger to the progress of the denomination. It was especially true in the West, where a great variety of "isms" and religious systems were bidding for acceptance by the fluctuating western mind, that each denomination should guard its distinctiveness and unity. This necessity Peet perceived more clearly than anyone else. It accounts for his almost fanatical support of the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention which united the Calvinistic groups. It is responsible for his careful guard against the admission of men of divergent views. It was the cause of his desire to keep the peace and avoid controversy.³²

But to keep peace and avoid controversy was precisely what was impossible in the "roaring forties." Two matters in particular arose to cause dissension, slavery and a type of thought which in the West was known as "Oberlinism." Slavery, which is now known to have had more to do with the split in Presbyterianism than was formerly supposed,³³ began to agitate Wisconsin religious circles as early as 1841. In that year the Convention passed resolutions condemning it as a sin.³⁴ The matter came up in subsequent sessions quite regularly. There were numerous agitations throughout the territory and many anti-slavery societies were formed in which missionaries took leading parts. The American Home

³² Peet to Badger, February 24, 1845.

³³ See Sweet, *op. cit.*, 111-122.

³⁴ "Minutes," 75.

Missionary Society was criticized by some for supporting slaveholders in the South. But while the Convention was apparently unanimous in support of abolition, its policy was to avoid extremes and the stirring up of bitter controversy. Every resolution was accompanied by a warning to this effect. Thus, in 1846, the Convention declared categorically that the anti-slavery cause was "a part of the gospel of Christ" but went on to state that it is "liable to be abused."³⁵ This attitude the eastern radicals could not understand and attacked the Wisconsin men on the ground of a lack of interest in the cause. In defending himself, Peet declared that he would be ashamed not to be an abolitionist, but the missionary work was too important to be ruined by controversy.³⁶

Wisconsin missionaries were also attacked because they were said to be "Oberlinists." This was a variety of Finney perfectionism, a sort of Pelagianism that was too much for Calvinists to swallow. The charge came principally from New School Presbyterians in Ohio, invented, as Peet thought, by one of his personal enemies, an incompetent man whom he had not especially encouraged to settle in Wisconsin. There is ample evidence that there was no region where the charge of "Oberlinism" was less applicable than Wisconsin, where only one or possibly two men held Oberlin views, neither of them aggressively.³⁷ Yet the charge was played up for a while and contributed to the criticism of the union.

These matters of controversy had an indirect part in the downfall of Peet and the disruption of the union, but the direct attack came from the ultra-Congregational "Puritan" party in New England. This came to a head in 1845. In the summer of that year a certain Boston merchant by the name of M. F. Wood had occasion to make a business trip through several western states. In Wisconsin, he apparently fell in with some of the people whom Peet had alienated. At any rate, he came to the conclusion that the union Convention and Peet were actually working for Presbyterianism to the damage of his beloved Congregationalism. Accordingly, under the pseudonym of "Boston Lay-

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 169.

³⁶ Peet to Badger, February 24, 1845.

³⁷ *Ibid.* This letter is Peet's long defense of his policies.

man," he wrote a letter of protest to the *New England Puritan*.³⁸ It had always been the policy of the American Home Missionary Society to refrain from public reply to attack and try to set matters right privately. In this case, Joseph S. Clark, of the auxiliary Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, was able to convince Wood that he had received false impressions in the West and to secure his promise of a letter for the *Puritan* to that effect.³⁹ Meanwhile, Stephen Peet, greatly incensed by the letter, impetuously wrote an elaborate defense.⁴⁰ The result was that Wood refused to make any retraction and continued the public controversy with Peet in which others participated.

The American Home Missionary Society was greatly embarrassed by all this. Peet had been bluntly ordered to keep silent, but too late.⁴¹ However, in the summer of 1846, Parsons Cooke, one of the editors of the *Puritan*, engaged in a crusade through the West to preach the distinctive nature of Congregationalism and pronounce a solemn warning against the Presbyterians. Among other places, he was given a ready hearing in the Congregational church in Milwaukee where Peet was not at all popular, and apparently picked up additional complaints against the agent. On his return, he editorially attacked Peet and Wisconsin missionaries in their union Convention. This blast stirred the missionaries to draw up a formal reply and defense of themselves and Peet, apparently without the latter's knowledge.⁴² They entrusted Aaron Lucius Chapin with the duty of sending it to be published in the *Puritan*.

But it was never published. Chapin, who was an unusually sane and level-headed man, shortly afterwards, at the age of 33, refused the post of secretary of the American Home Missionary Society in order to accept the presidency of Beloit College. He was pastor of the Presbyterian church in Milwaukee and a member of the Board of Agency. While he had helped circulate the defense document for signatures, he had not fully approved of it.⁴³ Whether by accident or de-

38 *The New England Puritan*, (October 30, 1845), VI.

39 Clark to Hall, November 6, 1845.

40 *Puritan*, (January 1, 1846), VII.

41 Hall to Peet, December 13, 1845.

42 A copy of this is preserved among the Chapin papers in the archives of Beloit College.

43 Chapin to Badger, December 14, 1846.

sign, Chapin did not send it directly to the *Puritan*, but to Clark of the Massachusetts society. Furthermore, he sent copies to Badger and Hall in New York. There it fell like a bombshell and caused a near panic. Badger rushed out to the telegraph, then just established, to prevent Clark from sending it to the *Puritan*. To the secretaries, it looked as if they were in the dilemma of either alienating their entire missionary force in an important area or a large group of their financial supporters in New England. They chose to keep the unity of their supporters and risk their ability to explain matters to the Wisconsin missionaries.⁴⁴ Their point was that Cooke would be forced into a defense and that he would certainly believe Peet to be really at the bottom of the defense document. A long letter to the missionaries by the beloved senior secretary, Dr. Hall, explained the attitude of the secretaries and completely satisfied the former.⁴⁵

The crisis was over, but it was perfectly evident that, regardless of the truth or falsity of the accusations against him, Peet was an embarrassment to the American Home Missionary Society. Chapin, probably Peet's best friend, realized that his usefulness was at an end.⁴⁶ The Society waited a number of months, probably in the hope that Peet would resign of his own accord, but the agent stubbornly clung to his position. He was fighting for the ideal of Presbyterian-Congregational unity which to him transcended personal considerations, and he felt that the Society would support him. Finally, Dr. Badger wrote to request his resignation.⁴⁷ Peet never recovered from the blow. Though too big a man to show open resentment or ill will, he never ceased to feel that the Society, to which he had given the best years of his life in unswerving loyalty, had deserted him and the cause of Christian unity. He gave up his post March 1, 1848, and then became the financial agent for Beloit College for a time. Broken in health from his strenuous life, he retired for a time and then moved to Batavia, Illinois, and died an untimely death in 1855, following a hard trip through the

44 Badger to Clark, November 18, 1846.

45 Hall to Chapin, November 23, 1846: Chapin to Hall, December 14, 1846: J. Lewis to Hall, March 9, 1847.

46 Chapin to Badger, November 22, 1847.

47 Badger to Peet, July 15, 1847.

East, undertaken for the purpose of raising the funds to insure the founding of Chicago Theological Seminary.

The resignation of Stephen Peet from the agency of the American Home Missionary Society in Wisconsin really marks the end of the Presbyterian and Congregational union. To be sure, in 1848 it was as strong as it had ever been, but the forced resignation of its aggressive champion under pressure from outside was a clear indication of what was sure to follow. The union was directly against the trends of the times and without the artificial stimulation of Peet's energy and personality nature was allowed to take its course. With opinion throughout New England against union as it was, it was inevitable that in time this sentiment should grow in Wisconsin. This was first noticeable along the lake shore, that part of Wisconsin in closest touch with the East. It was noticeably strong in 1848.⁴⁸ The Milwaukee Congregational church, long unfriendly to Peet, was the center of this sentiment, its pastor, J. J. Miter, never having been wholly willing to cooperate with the Presbyterians.⁴⁹ The splitting off of a group of members of this church in 1847 to form a radical anti-slavery church, the Free Congregational, indicates at least the fact that contemporary New England sentiments were making themselves felt in Wisconsin. The same is evidenced in Beloit in the formation of the Presbyterian church in 1849 for the same reason.

While in other parts of the West the Plan of Union worked for the benefit of Presbyterianism, in Wisconsin the opposite was the result. There it was not the Congregationalists who seceded from the union, but the Presbyterians. This was due to the fact that, on account of immigration, Congregationalism was overwhelmingly predominant. In 1840, when the Convention was organized, it included eight Presbyterian and eight Congregational churches.⁵⁰ In 1850, there were ninety-five Congregational and thirty-one Presbyterian churches.⁵¹ A closer examination of the list reveals the added disparity in the fact that all but three of the Presbyterian churches were very small in membership. Thus

48 B. H. Camp to Badger and Hall, January 27, 1848.

49 Peet to Badger, August 25, 1843.

50 Peet, *op. cit.*, 28.

51 *Ibid.*, 183-186.

while it was union in sentiment and in theory, the Convention had become really Congregational.

Nothing shows this any better than the fact that the actual defections were Presbyterian, and that the first secession was led by the Presbyterian church in Milwaukee, the church of which Peet and Chapin had been pastors, the most important and most faithful church in the entire Convention. This was caused by resentment against Chapin's leaving to become president of Beloit College, for which the church blamed the Convention, and by the leadership of Chapin's successor, a more rigid Presbyterian from the East, William H. Spencer. Under Spencer's leadership, this church withdrew from the Convention in 1851, and with a small newly-organized Presbyterian church, formed a second Milwaukee Presbytery and affiliated with the New School Synod of Peoria.⁵² Later in the same year, three Presbyterian members of the Convention induced two small churches to form the Fox River Presbytery. In 1856 the Presbytery of Columbus was set up and in 1857 the Synod of Wisconsin was created.⁵³

This Presbyterian movement did not mean that the Convention was destroyed, but that it became Congregational. Only a very small number of Presbyterian churches belonging to the Convention went over to the Synod, but all newly organized Presbyterian churches naturally affiliated with it, especially after 1857, when the New School Church Extension Committee sent an agent to do missionary work in Wisconsin. Of the forty churches in the Synod in 1860, only four had belonged to the Convention. During the decade of the fifties, the Convention added one hundred and one churches, about doubling its membership. Of these, ninety-four were Congregational, seven Presbyterian, and it is to be noted that only one of the latter was organized after 1855. Yet while it had become Congregational in fact, the Convention kept the union principle in theory. In 1874 it recognized facts to the extent of reversing the denomina-

52 W. F. Brown, *Past Made Present* (1900), 148-150. It should be noted that the Old School Presbyterians began work in Wisconsin in 1845 and had 22 churches by 1850. They had no relation to the Convention. In 1851 they formed the Synod of Wisconsin. The present Synod of Wisconsin dates its origin from this rather than from the New School Synod.

53 Wisconsin Synod, "Records of the Presbyterian Church in Wisconsin, 1857-1883." Three manuscript volumes deposited with the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison.

tions in its name, calling itself the "Congregational and Presbyterian Convention of Wisconsin." Ten years later the Convention became the "Congregational Convention of Wisconsin," and a new constitution was adopted in 1887.

Thus the enlightened union plan came to an end, not by any deliberate rejection, but by the slow process of time. The highminded Wisconsin Christians could not have resisted the social and religious trends even had they been fully aware of them. It was a gallant gesture, the spirit of which is still present after the first hundred years. It is still a fact that the present Wisconsin Congregational Conference owes its strength largely to the vision and energy of Presbyterians like Stephen Peet, Aaron Chapin, and Jeremiah Porter, and celebrates its centennial dating from the organization of a presbytery. That both Presbyterians and Congregationalists do not celebrate their centennials from the same event is not the fault of the pioneers, who would have had it so, but to the inexorable social forces that changed wilderness to civilization.

EPHRAEMIUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH

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The sixth century in the Eastern Roman Empire saw the appointment to high ecclesiastical offices of several laymen chosen from the upper ranks of the army and the civil service. Apollinaris, patriarch of Alexandria from 551 to 570, had been before his appointment a high military officer, and his successor John had likewise passed the whole of his previous career in the army.¹ It was evidently their marked executive ability which was responsible for the sudden translation of such men from the government service to the church, and in their new careers their energy and their mastery of administrative detail no doubt outweighed any previous lack of training in theological affairs.

One of these "warrior bishops" was Ephraemius of Amida, patriarch of Antioch from 527 to 545. Many of the events in his career can be traced in some detail. There are, however, certain incidents which historians have not yet had occasion to examine in the detail which they deserve. These episodes throw further light on his character, and one of them in particular affords an additional glimpse of the days in the summer of 540 when Antioch lay helpless before Chosroes and the invading Persian army.

For the early stages of Ephraemius' career in the government service no evidence has been preserved. An inscription shows that at some time he was *comes sacrarum largitionum*, i. e. head of the central treasury of the empire. After this he became *comes Orientis*, at some time late in 522 or early in 523, and he still held this office in November, 524.² As

1 For these and other similar appointments, see J. Maspero, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1923), 256-257 (cf. also 161, n. 1).

2 The inscription, found near Seleucia Pieria, was set up during his tenure of the *comitiva Orientis* (see V. Chapot, "Antiquités de la Syrie du Nord," *Bull. de Correspondance Hellénique*, XXVI [1902], 166-168, 289; cf. P. Perdrizet in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscriptions et belles-lettres* [1924], 324. The date given in this inscription shows that he was *comes Orientis* in November, 524.

"count of the East" he was the civil administrator of Palestine and Syria. His office was a peculiarly exacting one, for in addition to the duties which any such post carried with it, Ephraemius was responsible for the administration of Antioch, where he had his headquarters. Traditionally one of the most turbulent cities of the East, Antioch was, at the time when Ephraemius was posted there, chronically troubled by the riots of the partisans of the circus factions.³ The unruly population had an additional cause for discontent in the recent suppression (A. D. 520) of the local Olympic festival, a measure of government economy which deprived the city of one of its most famous and most popular entertainments.⁴

His routine tasks must have been sufficiently burdensome; but in addition Ephraemius was soon called upon to cope with two extraordinary disasters which visited Antioch. The first was a great fire which broke out in October, 525, and seems to have devastated a considerable part of the city.⁵ Ephraemius had apparently retired from the office of *comes Orientis* before the fire, for the post is said to have been held by a certain Anatolius at the time of the disaster.⁶ Evidently, however, Ephraemius was soon called upon to take up his old duties, for he is again found as *comes Orientis* in the following spring.⁷ It is not unlikely that he was re-

Malalas' reference to his appointment (416, line 20, Bonn ed.) occurs in a context which indicates that he entered office during the first indiction (Sept. 1, 522—Aug. 31, 523). On the life of Ephraemius see, in addition to the studies cited below, A. Jülicher, "Ephraimios," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, VI, col. 17, and C. Karalevskij, "Antioche," in Baudrillart, *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. eccl.*, III, col. 577; cf. also *Histoire de l'église*, publ. sous la direction de A. Fliche et V. Martin, tome IV (by Labriolle, Bardy, Bréhier, and Plinval; Paris, 1937), 431. The reader may refer to these treatises for certain minor details of Ephraemius' career in the church which it seems unnecessary to repeat here.

³ Mal. 416, 20.

⁴ Mal. 417, 5; cf. Procopius, *Anecdota*, XXVI, 6-9.

⁵ Mal. 417, 9.

⁶ Mal. *loc. cit.* In the Greek text of Malalas preserved in the codex Baroccianus at Oxford it is stated (417, 17) that Ephraemius was patriarch at the time of the fire. The Church Slavonic version of Malalas, which states that Euphrasius was patriarch during the fire, now proves that the reading in the Greek text is a scribe's mistake (See V. M. Istrin, *Chronika Ioanna Malaly v slavianskom perevodie*, in the *Sbornik otđel, russkago yazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk*, tom. XCI, p. 19; I take this information from the English translation of this version by Professor Matthew Spinka, which it is hoped may soon be published). Theophanes, in his account of the event (A. M. 6018, p. 172, 9 ed. De Boor) says that Euphrasius was patriarch. The names could easily have been confused because of their similarity, and the confusion would have been made easier by the circumstance that Ephraemius was later made patriarch.

⁷ See the following paragraph.

called to office expressly to take charge of the rebuilding of the burned areas, possibly because Anatolius had proved to be unequal to the task.

But the city was not left in peace, for as though the fire were not a sufficient calamity, a catastrophic earthquake visited it in May, 526. The chronicler John Malalas, who lived at Antioch and possibly was an eye-witness of the disaster, has left an account of it which leaves no doubt that the city was almost completely destroyed.⁸ Here again Ephraemius seems to have distinguished himself, for he was chosen (in 527) to be the successor of the patriarch, Euphrasius, who had perished in the disaster.⁹ Malalas says that he was compelled to accept the election; his choice under the circumstances by the local clergy and the approval of the appointment by Justin and Justinian show how widely his ability must have been recognized.

To his ecclesiastical office Ephraemius brought the energy and the methodical habits of the state functionary, and it is easy to picture his vigor in organizing the persecution of the Monophysites in 536.¹⁰ Another side of his character, which is perhaps somewhat unexpected in the light of his early career, is reflected in his literary activity. Information has been preserved concerning three collections of theological writings by him; fragments of these can be recovered, and they show an astonishingly wide knowledge of earlier theological literature.¹¹

In what is perhaps the most striking episode of his career, Ephraemius appears again in another great catastrophe in the history of Antioch, the capture and sack of the city by the Persians in 540. Because of the condition of the sources, it is not possible to reconstruct with certainty his rôle on this occasion, but enough evidence remains to suggest the probable course of his conduct.

⁸ Mal. 419, 5; many details now lost from the Greek text are preserved in the Church Slavonic version mentioned above.

⁹ Mal. 432, 19; Evagrius, *Ecl. Hist.*, IV, 6. Karalevskij is mistaken in stating (*op. cit.*, col. 699) that Ephraemius became patriarch in 526; the election is dated by Malalas and by Theophanes (A. M. 6019, p. 173, 20) at about the time of the death of Justinus (Aug. 1, 527). There is no evidence how the patriarchate was administered in the interval before Ephraemius' election.

¹⁰ See J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), II, 377-378; Maspero, *op. cit.*, 122, 144, 180; Labriolle, etc., *op. cit.*, 454-455.

¹¹ O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. d. altkirchl. Lit.*, V (Freiburg-i-B., 1932), 17-18.

When Chosroes invaded Syria in 540, he found the land at his mercy; part of the Roman army was busy in the western half of the empire, and the garrisons which remained in the East were insufficient to resist his advance.¹² In the circumstances, the inhabitants of the larger cities often decided to purchase their safety, and the Persians slowly proceeded west almost unopposed. Antioch was, of course, the richest prize in Syria, and when Justinian learned of the invasion, he sent his cousin Germanus there, accompanied by only three hundred soldiers. Germanus saw that the defences of the city were in such a condition as to make resistance hopeless: the fortifications seem to have been in places badly planned, and they were probably insufficiently garrisoned. Moreover, the promised reinforcements were not sent.¹³

For what followed our principal source is Procopius. While he is generally trustworthy and truthful, his work was in a sense an "official" history, and sometimes he does not see fit to tell everything. In the present instance one detail of the events which preceded the capture of the city is preserved also in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius, written about fifty years after the event. Evagrius says that he used Procopius' account, but he also lived at Antioch and so had access to other local sources of information as well. It chanced that Evagrius disagrees with Procopius in this detail, which has to do with the part played by Ephraemius. The point has been neglected by modern historians, who have followed Procopius' account throughout.¹⁴

Procopius tells us that when it became apparent that the city could not be defended, the inhabitants held a council, "at which it seemed most advisable to offer money to Chosroes and thus escape the present danger. Accordingly, they sent Megas, the bishop of Beroea, a man of discretion who at that time happened to be tarrying among them, to beg for mercy from Chosroes."¹⁵ Megas met Chosroes near Hierap-

¹² For the history of the invasion see Bury, *op. cit.*, II, 89 ff.

¹³ Procopius, *Wars*, II, vi, 9-15.

¹⁴ In addition to Bury's account (p. 96), see the description in Ch. Diehl, *Justinien* (Paris, 1901), 583; also W. G. Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora* (ed. 2, London, 1912), II, 588 ff., and H. Leclercq, "Antioche (Archéologie)," in Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dict. d'arch. Chrét. et de liturgie*, I, cols. 2390 f. (see below, note 19.)

¹⁵ Procop. II, vi, 16-17, translated by H. B. Dewing in the *Loeb Classical Library*.

olis, and succeeded in persuading the king to accept 1000 pounds of gold and "depart from the whole Roman empire."¹⁶ Megas returned to Antioch to obtain the money, and Chosroes proceeded to storm and capture Beroea (Aleppo) when the inhabitants were unable to pay the ransom of 4000 pounds of silver which he demanded.

Megas (Procopius continues), upon reaching Antioch and announcing the terms arranged by him with Chosroes, failed utterly to persuade them to carry out this agreement. For it happened that the Emperor Justinian had sent John, the son of Rufinus, and Julian, his private secretary, as ambassadors to Chosroes . . . These men had reached Antioch and were remaining there. Now Julian . . . explicitly forbade everybody to give money to the enemy, or to purchase the cities of the emperor, and besides he denounced to Germanus the chief priest [i. e. patriarch] Ephraemius, as being eager to deliver over the city to Chosroes. For this reason Megas returned unsuccessful. But Ephraemius, the bishop of Antioch, fearing the attack of the Persians, went into Cilicia. There too came Germanus not long afterwards, taking with him some few men but leaving the most of them in Antioch.¹⁷

Procopius goes on to describe how the Persians finally captured the city after a brief resistance. He concludes:

Chosroes commanded the army to capture and enslave the survivors of the population of Antioch, and to plunder all the property, while he himself with the ambassadors descended from the height [above the city] to the sanctuary which they call a church. There Chosroes found stores of gold and silver so great in amount that, though he took no other part of the booty except these stores, he departed possessed of enormous wealth. And he took down from there many wonderful marbles and ordered them to be deposited outside the fortifications, in order that they might convey these to the land of Persia. When he had finished these things, he gave orders to the Persians to burn the whole city. And the ambassadors begged him to withhold his hand only from the church, for which he had carried away ransom in abundance. This he granted to the ambassadors, but gave orders to burn everything else.¹⁸

Compared to this, Evagrius' account is of the briefest. He says only that Procopius described the attack on Antioch, Ephraemius "having left the city on the failure of all his plans. He is said to have saved the church and everything

16 Procop. II, vi, 25.

17 Procop. II, vii, 14-18.

18 Procop. II, ix, 14-18 (cf. II, x, 6).

around it by arraying it with the holy offerings, so that they might serve as a ransom for it."¹⁹

It is noteworthy that the one specific detail which Evagrius does give concerning the capture of the city is a flat contradiction of his predecessor's account. Evagrius' work being an ecclesiastical history, he would naturally be interested to a greater extent than Procopius in the patriarch's rôle in the crisis. This is of course in itself no reason to accept without hesitation his statement concerning the work of Ephraemius; but if Procopius' account is examined in the light of Evagrius', it seems possible to recover at least in part the circumstances which may have lain behind this discrepancy.

It will have been noticed that Procopius attributes the decision to try to ransom the city entirely to the populace, and that he makes no mention whatever of how this plan was viewed by Germanus. Then he says that Julian denounced Ephraemius to Germanus "as being eager to deliver over the city to Chosroes"—he does not indicate what method Ephraemius was supposed to have in mind. Finally he says that Chosroes spared the church at the intercession of the emperor's ambassadors because they pointed out that the treasures taken from it amounted to an abundant ransom for the building.

In the last detail—that the treasures served to ransom the church—the two writers agree. Apparently Procopius either did not wish to ascribe the preservation of the church to the patriarch, or did not know (or did not believe) that this action should be attributed to him. There are indications which suggest, with some plausibility, what may actually have happened. It is evident that Germanus would have been compelled to agree to the effort to ransom the city, if indeed he did not actually (as Bury believes) propose the plan himself.²⁰ Elsewhere Procopius displays a marked

19 *Eocl. Hist.*, IV, 25. The way in which both Procopius (in the passage cited above) and Evagrius speak of "the church," without using a descriptive epithet, implies that it was the most important of the churches at Antioch. At this time, this would be the Church of the Virgin, built by Justinian after the earthquake of 526 (*Mal.* 423, 1; cf. *Procop. Buildings*, II, x, 24). The famous church of Constantine is said to have been burned in this earthquake (*Mal.* 419, 21; *Leclercq, loc. cit.*, confuses the accounts of the earthquake and the sack by the Persians, stating mistakenly that the church of Constantine was burned in 540).

20 Bury, *loc. cit.*; this is also the opinion of J. Haury, *Byz. Ztschr.*, IX (1900), 346.

tendency to praise the emperor's cousin, and to attribute to him an energy and an ability which Malalas, for example, does not find in him.²¹ Thus, since the effort to buy off the Persians was forbidden by the emperor's own envoys, it seems possible that Procopius suppressed Germanus' part in the scheme in order to save his face. Ephraemius, however, had no claim to vindication and so Procopius represented him as being "denounced" to Germanus, with whom he may actually have been working in close collaboration.²²

Whether Ephraemius ought to have remained in Antioch when it became clear that the city could not be saved is a debatable point: certainly it is difficult to believe that he fled in fear, as Procopius says he did. In any case the great church itself was saved, and it seems impossible, in the light of Procopius' account, to deny to the patriarch the credit for realizing that there was a chance to preserve at least the building itself by giving up its treasures to the greedy invaders, and for having the courage to put this plan into execution. Thus it is possible to recover one more instance of determined and decisive action by the church in an emergency which the secular power was unable to meet.

²¹ Procop. *Wars*, VII, xl, 9 and *Anec.*, V, 8 ff.; Mal. 480, 1; cf. Haury, *loc. cit.*

²² Germanus would of course have given up the effort to ransom the city when the envoys arrived; possibly he abandoned Ephraemius, without making an effort to save him from their accusations.

THE MAUGERVILLE CHURCH AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

H. W. BARKER

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On the east bank of the St. John River, sixty miles above the city of St. John and eighteen miles below Fredericton, is an attractive white church building of the New England type. Its graceful spire cannot fail to catch the eye and call forth expressions of admiration as travelers pass by motor or river steamer. This houses the oldest Protestant church organization in what is now the Province of New Brunswick, though this building is not the original one. It was a "society" of the Congregational order, now an integral part of The United Church of Canada, and known as Sheffield.

The church as an organization dates back to 1763. The first "meeting-house" was destroyed by fire. It stood six miles up the river, at Maugerville¹ (pronounced as if spelt *Magerville*). In the winter of 1788 the building was moved to the glebe land at Sheffield, for the title to the Maugerville lot was disputed. One hundred yoke of oxen and several score of men performed the moving operation, and the structure, which was capable of holding eight hundred people, was drawn on the ice and set up on this new site, and not a wall was cracked or a pew removed!

It will be remembered that the Acadians were expelled from the Grand Prè district in Nova Scotia in 1755. Following this, Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia (what is now New Brunswick was then included in Nova Scotia) sent an invitation to British settlers in New England to come in and possess the land. Several hundred responded during the five or ten years following. About four hundred settled in the former Acadian territory around Minas Basin; others went to the south shore of Nova Scotia; and still others sought

¹ Named for Joshua Mauger, a Halifax merchant who returned to England in 1761 and became a Member of Parliament and agent for the province of Nova Scotia.

virgin soil in the intervale land on the St. John river. The last mentioned group, and many, probably most, of the others, were of Pilgrim and Puritan stock. Of those who came to the Grand Prè region, one hundred were from Connecticut, one hundred and eighty from Massachusetts and one hundred from Rhode Island. Those who came to the St. John River emigrated from Rowley, Massachusetts, and thereabout. Today we find the names Bridges, Burpee, Barker, Coburn, Gage, Jewett, Hazen, Perley, Pickard, Stickney and many others in the Rowley and Ipswich district and also on the St. John River, for it was from these families who founded Rowley in 1639 that the emigration took place.

These colonists, remembering what their ancestors had suffered for religious liberty, refused to consider the enticing offer of the Governor unless assured of full freedom of conscience. One of the early acts, therefore, of the first legislature of Nova Scotia in 1758 accorded religious liberty. It was entitled, "An Act for the Establishment of Religious Public Worship in the Province, and for Suppressing Popery." This act declared that the "Church established by the law of England shall be deemed the fixed form of worship," and until 1851 the Church of England was the established church in Nova Scotia; but the act provided further that "all Protestants dissenting from the Church of England shall have full liberty of conscience, and may erect and build meeting-houses for public worship, and may choose and elect ministers for the carrying out of Divine services and administration of the sacraments according to their several doctrinal opinions; and all such dissenters shall be excused from any taxes to be made or levied by the Established Church of England."

In 1761 the Governor of Massachusetts sent an exploring party to the St. John River under Captain Israel Perley.² They took boat to Machias and then, shouldering their knapsacks, tramped through the woods in a north-easterly direction to the headquarters of the Oromocto River, which flows into the St. John. They encountered no obstacles to settlement save those offered by Indians.

The following year a company of about twenty came to St. John harbor from Newburyport, Massachusetts. They

2 "The Founders of St. John," in *St. John Telegraph*.

found difficulty in making their way through the forest because of a hurricane which three years before had blown down many trees, thus obstructing the trails. However, not liking the land near the harbor, they proceeded up the river to St. Ann's Point (now Fredericton) where they found a clearing from which the French had recently departed. While they were engaged in making a survey, some Indian chiefs appeared with about five hundred warriors. The newcomers were informed that they were encroaching on their rights. The party therefore retreated twelve miles down the river and made a survey of a township, which was afterwards called Maugerville. Here they remained undisturbed,—at least for a time. In 1763 four vessels loaded with settlers arrived at the St. John river from Massachusetts, and practically all of these came to Maugerville.

Other troubles than Indian awaited the young colony. When it became known in England that some of the most eligible lands in Nova Scotia were being occupied by Puritan settlers, the King communicated to Governor Belcher in Halifax an order reserving these lands for disbanded soldiers. On the remonstrance of the settlers, however, this order was revoked, and land grants were issued in 1765.

During its eleven first years the Maugerville church had only itinerant preachers, some of whom stayed as long as four months. The Rev. Thomas Wood, of the Church of England, visited Maugerville in 1769 and reported preaching to over two hundred people, "mainly Dissenters." He added that since one of their ministers had lately been among them he "christened only two or three children." Usually the services of the church were conducted by the people themselves, with prayer, exhortation, Scripture, reading of a sermon and singing. To this day when the Maugerville church is without a minister the service is carried on as usual, a deacon reading a sermon of some well-known preacher. Before a minister came discipline was sometimes administered. In 1773 certain members were called to account for "scandalous sins," and according to the record after full confession before the congregation were "restored to their charity again."³

The church's first minister was Seth Noble. He was

3 W. O. Raymond, *History of the River St. John*, 171.

born at Westfield, Massachusetts on April 15th, 1743. He was ordained at Newburyport and his first settlement was at Maugerville, where he began his ministry on June 15th, 1774. The entry in the church minutes regarding the call given to him is as follows:

"At a meeting held by the subscribers to a bond for the support of the Preached gospel among us at the House of Mr. Hugh Quinton inholder on Wednesday ye 15 of June 1774.

1ly Chose Jacob Barker Esqr. Moderator of Sd meeting.

2ly Gave Mr. Seth Noble a call to settle in the work of the ministry among us.

3ly to give Mr. Seth Noble as a settlement providing he accept the call, one hundred and twenty Pounds currency.

4ly Voted to give Mr. Seth Noble yearly salery of sixty five pounds currency so long as he shall continue our Minister to be in Cash or furs or grain at cash price.

5ly Chose Esqrs., Jacob Barker, Phineas Nevers, Israel Perley, Deacon Jonathan Burpee and Messrs. Hugh Quinton, Daniel Palmer, Moses Coburn, Moses Pickard a Committee to treat with Seth Noble.

6ly Adjourned the meeting to be held at the House of Mr. Hugh Quinton on Wednesday ye 29 Instat, at four of the clock in the afternoon to hear the report of the committee."

And then follows this minute:—

"Met on the adjournment on Wednesday ye 29 of June 1774 and voted as an addition to the salary of Mr. Seth Noble if he would except of our call, to cut and haul twenty-five cords of wood to his house yearly so long as he shall continue to be our Minister. The meeting dissolved."

Accepting the call, Noble became not only the first settled minister of the Maugerville Church, but also the first dissenting Protestant minister in that part of Nova Scotia which is now the province of New Brunswick.

No portrait of him has come down to us, but he is described as being "tall and thin, very active and energetic: his step was quick and firm, and his gait graceful." We are told that he wore a white powdered wig, and that he was lively, sociable and agreeable in his manners. One who knew him said, "I was too young to judge of his scholarship, but to my youthful mind he was a student. As a preacher he was sound and able. His sermons, I recollect, were well prepared, unique, systematic and evangelical."

Noble's ministry in Maugerville was fruitful, although of short duration. In writing to Aaron Dewey, a kinsman, of Westfield, Massachusetts, on February 7th, 1776, he re-

ported concerning his work that "Asa Kimball and wife are brought out into marvellous light. John Wasson was greatly troubled in his mind, but is now almost unceasingly adoring and praising the lowly Jesus. Andrew Tibbetts and wife, Mrs. Gillison, Thomas Saunders, Sarah Coy and Alice Totter seem to be under the preparatory work of the Spirit." We know also that Hannah Barker, who in 1775 became his wife, was converted under his ministry. She was born in Rowley on February 20th, 1759, and was a sister to Joseph Barker (1761-1832), the writer's great-grandfather.

It had been the expectation of the Maugerville people that Noble was settled among them for life. But when the War of Independence broke out he not only determined to return to New England himself, but also tried to persuade all the people to break up the settlement and join him. Many from other parts of Nova Scotia were returning. When Noble proposed to the Maugerville colonists that they do this, promising to continue with them as their minister, the church replied:

"Are we to throw away the fruit of many years of painful industry and leave with precipitation the place where God in His Providence hath smiled upon us, both in our spiritual and temporal affairs, and destitute of support cast ourselves into a place where the necessities of life are hardly to be obtained, unless we could find a place where vice and immorality did not thrive, or at least where vital piety did not flourish more than here."

It is probable that this disagreement was due to the fact that Noble had recently come from New England, with fresh memories of colonial grievances which had not been experienced by those who had emigrated ten or fifteen years earlier.

Unable to take his people back to New England, it would seem that Noble decided to remain and arouse support for the Americans. In this he had considerable success. He wrote: "We have unanimously signed a paper to join New England in the national struggle, and are making all possible preparations for war." Just who were included in "we" it is impossible to say, but there were many sympathizers. Dr. W. O. Raymond in his *History of the River St. John* says that on May 14th, 1775 a public meeting was held in the Maugerville meeting-house at which a number of highly disloyal resolutions were unanimously adopted. Ja-

cob Barker was chairman of this meeting, and Noble, who had already written to General Washington pointing out the importance of obtaining control of western Nova Scotia, including the river St. John, was one of the leading spirits. They appointed twelve representative men to prepare the resolutions which were subsequently adopted. One of these resolutions reads, "Resolved, that it is in our minds and desire to submit ourselves to the Government of Massachusetts Bay and that we are ready with our lives and fortunes to share the events of the present struggle for liberty, however God in His Providence may order it." The committee of twelve was given charge of all matters, civil and military, and those who signed the resolutions agreed that they would have no dealings with any person in the future who refused to sign. All the settlers on the river were visited, and the resolutions were signed by one hundred and twenty-five persons, mostly heads of families. The committee reported that only twelve or thirteen persons refused to sign, and that the majority of these lived at the mouth of the river.

It would seem, therefore, that the people of Maugerville were, as Noble had stated, "unanimously" in favor of revolting. The powerful influence of the pastor of the church, and of the leading elders and church members, was exerted on behalf of the Revolutionists. Of this there can be no doubt. Jacob Barker, who presided at this meeting, was a justice of the peace and ruling elder of the church. Israel Perley and Phineas Nevers were also justices of the peace and had represented the constituency in the Nova Scotia legislature and many of the others also were men of influence.

Another of the resolutions of the meeting of May 14th reads, "Resolved, that we will immediately put ourselves in the best posture of defence in our power: that to this end we will prevent all unnecessary use of gunpowder or other ammunition in our custody." Two men were chosen to go to Boston to interview the Massachusetts authorities. As a result of this visit the Commissary General there was directed to deliver to them one barrel of gun-powder, three hundred and fifty flints, and two hundred and fifty weight of lead from the colony's store; and in addition to this they purchased forty stand of small arms. It was not long before

these munitions of war were brought into service. News of the disaffection soon reached the ears of the English authorities in Nova Scotia, and a severe encounter took place near the mouth of the river on June 30th, 1777.

About this time a body of English soldiers came up the river in a schooner with the purpose of compelling the settlers to declare themselves. Quite a number recanted and took the oath of allegiance, on receiving promises from the English officers that they would not be punished or disturbed; but among the irreconcilables we find the names of the Rev. Seth Noble, Jacob Barker and Elisha Nevers. The Maugerville parson chose to suddenly depart, but escape was difficult. A reward of £100 was offered for his head, and a searching party from the schooner was sent to find him. He was hiding in the house of Mrs. Wasson, by whom he was concealed in a bed upon which her daughter placed herself in feigned sickness. The lieutenant in charge of the party entered the house. Mrs. Wasson told him he must keep out of the bed-room for her daughter was in bed, but he rudely pushed her to one side and went through the door. The young lady's blushes convinced the soldier that she was in a fever, and without making further search he departed. When the soldiers had returned to the schooner the daughter arose and watched the vessel sail on up the river bound for St. Anns (now Fredericton). When it had disappeared round the bend, she rowed Noble across the river, and then he made his way on foot by night until he was across the border.

Although Noble had left his charge irregularly, he claimed, after the war was over, that he should still be recognized as minister of the Maugerville Church, and receive pay for the time of his absence. The church, however, did not recognize this claim.⁴ In the survey a lot had been reserved for the first settled minister, and Mr. Noble could have had this property in fee simple if he had remained; but as he was not there to take it the Church of England took possession and it is still held by them.

After reaching New England, Noble was for a time connected with the commands of Captains Dyer and West,

⁴ "The Ancient Congregational Church at Sheffield, N. B.," by James Woodrow, in *Canadian Independent*, April, 1868.

evidently as a chaplain; and when Sir George Collier was repulsed at Machias, Maine, he preached a sermon on the event.

Meanwhile, until she could secure a safe passage to New England, Mrs. Hannah Barker Noble remained in Maugerville. One of the letters which she wrote to her husband at that time is still in possession of her descendants. This letter is dated December 28th, 1778, and reads thus:

Dear Husband,—

These imperfect lines, if ever they reach you, will inform you that through the goodness of God I am in as good a state of health as is common for me. The dear pledge of our conjugal love is also well and claims your affectionate regard. My parents and brothers enjoy the same blessing and desire ever to be remembered to you. The time of our separation (by the cruel hand of tyranny) seems long and tedious. The gliding moments pass slowly away, as they do to him who waiteth for the morning.

I received your kind letter of August 31st with as much joy as can be expected in my lonely situation. It gave me much comfort to hear of your welfare, but it was an additional satisfaction to hear that you wanted not for business in your calling. May the Lord of the Harvest make you abundantly successful! I hope and trust we do not forget to remember each other at the Throne of Grace. I hope God in His kind Providence will point out a way for us to live together again, which is my daily prayer to Him; and that we may come out of this affliction as gold tried in the fire.

You wrote to have me come up to you. I should be extremely glad to go, but have not had an opportunity that was safe. I shall embrace the first opportunity that is favorable.

It is a time of health among us. As to religion, it is on the decay; but some of them who withdrew acknowledged their fault and returned again.

I want extremely to see you, but when the time will come God only knows. It will not be safe for you to return here except an army comes to reduce the Province. The church and people here want very much to see you. They are very kind to me, and I receive many kindnesses from utter strangers. Neither myself nor child want for anything that my parents can help me to.

O that God would give us faith and patience and never let a murmuring sound drop from our lips! May we never harbour an evil thought in our hearts against God's dealings with us. Perhaps He may appear for us again. I have had many sleepless nights about you, but I hope God will raise you up friends and make your life comfortable while we are absent from each other.

I want to hear how matters go on in New England respecting the war, as we never hear anything favorable from the Regulars who are stationed at the mouth of the river. You wrote much more favorably than what we hear from the enemy.

May the best of heaven's blessings ever be your portion in this and

in the coming world. I receive many favors from friends and strangers, yet it does not make up for the loss of a bosom friend and guide. Your prayers I doubt not I have, but your instructions I have not which are much wanted as the cares and troubles of a family are coming upon me. May we not despise the chastisements of the Lord nor faint when rebuked of Him!

These are from your affectionate wife, Hannah Noble.

P. S. Major Perley has been carried to Halifax, but they could prove nothing against him so was honorably discharged.

From 1777 to 1786 Noble's whereabouts and occupation are not made clear, except that he was preaching in Newmarket, New Hampshire, a good part of the time. On January 24th, 1785, he received a grant, as one of the "Nova Scotia exiles," of three hundred acres from the State of Massachusetts. He was employed as a religious teacher and preacher at an annual salary of seventeen pounds. On September 10th, 1786, he was inducted into office under some ancient oaks which stood on the square bounded by Oak, Ash, York and Hancock Streets, Bangor. The place at that time went by the Indian name of Kenduskeag, which is still the name of the river that joins the Penobscot here. This region at that time was under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. In 1790 Noble applied to the General Court at Boston for an act to incorporate the town. In the petition he had written the name "Sunbury." The solid old minor tune of "Bangor" was a favorite with him, and when the incorporation was allowed he requested that instead of "Sunbury" the name be "Bangor," which was granted. Seth Noble was not only the first settled minister at Bangor, but he was also the first teacher of sacred music. His wife, who had joined him there, died on June 16th, 1790.

Congress afterwards granted to the Nova Scotia refugees a large tract of land in Ohio, stretching from the Scioto River at Columbus through to the Muskingum River at Zanesville. One-half section of three hundred and twenty acres went to the Rev. Seth Noble, and in 1806 he moved to this land. He died at Franklinton, now Columbus, on September 15th, 1807. Some of his descendants are still in that district.

After the departure of Noble from Maugerville, there followed a long period of trial for the little church. In a letter written to the Rev. Jonathan Scott, of Chebogue (Yarmouth), dated at Maugerville July 29th, 1779, the officers of

the church said,—“There hath been divisions and contentions among us issuing in an open separation and setting up an independent church on a different system.” In this same year, however, they were visited by the Rev. Henry Alline, the New Light Congregational saddle-back evangelist, who, in his *Life and Journal* (Boston, 1805) records that:

“A number of the church members met and related to me their broken state and the darkness of the times. I find a number of sincere Christians, but very much under trials and discouragements and reproached by those who hold the form without the power of religion. When the Sabbath came, I preached, and the Lord was there and took much hold of the people It was a grief to see sincere Christians thus scattered up and down the mountains like sheep having no shepherd. . . . I spent as much time as I could trying to get them together. . . . I then advised them to renew the covenant, and many of them did . . . and there appeared much love among them. . . . The work of God was still increasing: souls crying out what they shall do to be saved, and Christians enjoying great discoveries of Divine truths.”

The following year Alline again visited Maugerville, and his diary has this significant entry: “Great blessing attended my preaching through Maugerville, especially among Christians. The church seemed greatly revived, travelling in love.”

The other Nova Scotia dissenting churches suffered as did Maugerville at the time of the Revolution. Writing of Cornwallis (now Kingsport, organized in 1760), the late Rev. J. W. Cox, D.D., said:

“One would need to have been a member of that old church from 1770 to 1776 to realize what 1776 meant. My great-grandfather Bigelow's father, Deacon Isaac Bigelow, was one who was with Pastor Phelps in sympathy with the New England Revolutionists, insomuch that after the peace treaty, or about that date, he returned to Connecticut. . . . His youngest son, Amasa, however, was so imbued with Henry Alline's heavenly-mindedness and disregard for political differences, flags, kings and thrones, and all earthly glory, that he threw in his lot with Henry Alline and became one of the deacons in the New Light Congregational Church and also assisted Alline in his arduous evangelistic campaign through the Province. Perhaps in the Providence of God the pacific heavenly teachings and emotional spirituelle teachings and exhortations of the eloquent young evangelist were just the thing needed, and we do not know just what might have happened if instead of such a leader a demagogue had arisen preaching revolution. So Henry Alline was in some respects a God-send to the sorely distressed settlers at that time.”

It is interesting that when Henry Alline was buried in Northampton, New Hampshire, in 1783, Seth Noble was one of the pall-bearers.

BOOK REVIEWS

CREATIVE CONTROVERSIES IN CHRISTIANITY

By GEORGE W. RICHARDS. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1938. 223 pages. \$1.50.

That out of controversy grows progress is by no means an accepted dogma today. Schools of thought in both religious and secular life plead for regulated uniformity as the only hope for the future of mankind. Dr. Richards supports the thesis that out of controversies, the conflicts of opposing minds and different ideals, the great truths of life finally take shape. The key note of the book is found in two quotations given in the *Introduction*. The first in the statement of Jesus that He "came to bring not peace but a sword." The second is by Faust, who says:

*Zwei Seelen wohnen ach in meiner Brust;
Die eine will sich der anderen trennen.*

The book was given as the James Sprunt Lectures this year at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond. It ranges all the way from Socrates and the prophet Amos to Schleiermacher and Karl Barth. Each age had its creative controversies by which God worked out His purpose. While controversies change with the times, the issues often remain the same. In the first century the Jewish Christians tried to turn the gospel into a new law and the Greek Christians into a new philosophy, but Paul proclaimed a new life. It is not difficult to make the parallel with our own day.

Dr. Richards gives full significance to the controversy that raged around Nicaea, and its vital importance for the future of Christianity. He also, which is perhaps a rarer virtue in a Protestant historian, understands the peculiar contributions of the Middle Ages to the creative controversies of our religion. The Reformation proper may have begun with Erasmus and Luther, but it had its roots back in the era when the Teutonic tribes were becoming nations. "Teutonism and Catholicism cannot permanently dwell under the same roof."

When the author comes to modern times he finds the controversy between the two types of Christians and theologians to be acute. It can best be seen by comparing Erasmus with Luther; "Erasmus was a historical and critical scholar . . . He was in search of a religion or a philosophy of life better than that which was offered him by the church of Rome. Luther was not primarily a scholar, a critic, a historian; he was a sinner in search of salvation." It is impossible that such men should ever understand each other.

Dr. Richards writes for the average scholarly clergyman rather than for the trained theologian; but that does not mean that he has

in any way sacrificed scholarship for simplicity. In fact his book seems to be peculiarly free from the defects of loose generalization often found in studies of this nature. One slip might be mentioned. On page 148 he says "There was a time when He was not and when God was not Father."

The reviewer hopes that Dr. Richards is correct when he sees evidence of a "loss of confidence in man—in his ability to solve his problems in his own way;" but somehow as one looks at Russia and Germany, to take but two examples, he just stops, and wonders, and questions.

Pawtucket, R. I.

W. T. Townsend.

THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION OF ST. HIPPOLYTUS OF ROME

Edited by GREGORY DIX. London: S. P. C. K., New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. lxxxii, 90 pages. \$4.50.

Dix, monk of Nashdom Abbey, England, has produced a masterpiece of reconstruction, historical and textual, in one of the most difficult problems of source study in church history. With exemplary attention to detail he has given us an edition of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus that will probably be the standard handbook for years to come. As might be expected, his approach to the problem of Hippolytus is frankly Catholic. The bishop of Rome is always "Pope," and the disappointed aspirant and protestor, Hippolytus, is "anti-Pope," "schismatic," but "Saint" even though he was too rigorous, unbending and "devoid of sweetness in his nature." Dix's churchmanship, however, gives him the advantage of seeing clearly how that the stream of living Christianity flowed through the Catholic church rather than through the backwaters of schismatics and "heretics," who made their fatal mistakes by bending their whole religion over some momentary issue which, in the broad church, was sooner or later covered by the deep waters of historical progression. Two large issues were the crux between Hippolytus and the bishops: first, the question as to the union between a Christian woman and her male slave, for which case Callistus declared them in the full state of Christian marriage (cf. Hippolytus' counter position in *Ap. Tr.* xvi, 24b—which passage Dix regards as genuine—demanding either their separation or their excommunication); second, the doctrine of the Godhead, in the discussion of which Hippolytus appeared as a "Binitarian." Whe finally at the death of Bishop Zephyrinus Callistus was elected to the see, Hippolytus broke away with his Puritanical followers and published his *Apostolic Tradition* (A. D. 217) as a manifesto against the bishop in order by contrast with what he regarded as innovations to set forth how things had always been in the church before. Logically, Hippolytus was correct, and Dix concedes to the document high representative value of evidence for the Catholic church's liturgical practice through the second century back to the Apostolic age itself (but note Dix's inconsistent late dating of the *Didache* as ca. 190

A.D.), but the sectarian could not admit of change and progress as of the essence of church life. In spite of the evidential value of this "church order," it was "peculiarly devoid of influence in the Roman Church itself" for the simple reason that the Roman church did not tie itself to past practices. The document's influence was effective only in the remoter provinces of the Christian world, like Ethiopia and Syria, where, perhaps because of the national temper of mind, the antiquarian occupation of collecting "church orders" flourished through the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. In their church documents the *Apostolic Tradition*, originally in Greek, has been largely preserved in derivative versions, though there is a fragmentary Latin version of the late fourth or early fifth century.

A detailed analysis of textual materials, the versions and cognate documents containing reminiscences and portions of the original, too many to enumerate here, establishes "nineteen-twentieth" of the treatise as known with certainty and accuracy. The most complete text is preserved in the Sahidic or Clementine Heptateuch (after 400 A. D.), while the Arabic is probably the best of the three versions in this collection.

The body of this volume is given to a translation with elaborate textual apparatus. Fortunately, Dix prints in the text the translation, with clarifying markings, of the interpolations, uncertain passages and variants of the main versions, while in the textual apparatus he prints the main Latin and Greek variants, with text-critical citations and discussions. The larger of these problems he presents fully in an appendix of textual notes.

A comparison with B. S. Easton's edition (Macmillan, 1934) is necessary, especially since at certain not unimportant points, largely textual, Dix differs outspokenly with Easton. Of course Easton's book attempts no full and elaborate historical or textual treatment as does this work. However, it would be well to approach the intricate subject first through the simpler edition of Easton. The reviewer regards Easton's translation as a more consistent rendering and in more lucid English style. Dix endeavours to be more literal and produces at times a ponderous and almost humorous effect, as e. g. in vi, 1 where he speaks of "solidified milk;" (cf. Easton, "this milk that has been united into one mass.") Where Dix (iii, 6, iv, 13, etc.) renders "Thy Child, Jesus Christ," Easton with greater fidelity to the early Christian meaning renders, "Thy Servant." Dix ecclesiastically renders "make Eucharist" (v, 1) where "give thanks" (Easton) is plainer. A significant rendering by both appears in xx, 5 where "sabbaton" is rendered by Easton, "Thursday," by Dix, "Fifth day of the week;" both renderings are under the influence of the Maundy Thursday tradition, though that is not necessarily called for by the text. Dix accepts xxiv on the Stational Mass as genuine, and objects almost violently to Easton's rendering of "robe" where the "*pinax*" of T (The Testament of Our Lord) calls for "vessel." Of course, Easton would not be sure that the T passage quoted by Dix belongs here. In rendering "*ekklesia*" Dix is also strangely inconsistent, sometimes translating "assembly," then again "church," varying without textual or contextual reason. In xxxvi, 1 Easton has "the Bible," Dix,

"a holy book;" was Dix thinking of a Prayer Book, possibly? In xxxvii 3 Eaton omits only vs. 4, not also vs. 3, as Dix says. A comparison of both makes also an interesting study into the technique of scholars as applied to translating and interpreting ancient texts. Obviously, the element of tradition and assumption is a factor in such work, and for that reason recourse must always be had to the originals for checking the modern translators. Fortunately, Dix has given us elaborate material for checking his textual conclusions. We await anxiously his promised volume of commentary on the *Apostolic Tradition*, which is worthy of careful study by scholars and even the churchmen of the current ecumenical movement in Christendom.

Kennewick, Washington.

Frederick A. Schilling.

EPISCOPAL APPOINTMENTS AND PATRONAGE IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD II

A STUDY IN THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE

By WALDO E. L. SMITH. Chicago: The American Society of Church History, 1938. xv, 144 pages. \$1.50.

This Edinburgh doctoral dissertation opens a window on the policies and interests governing episcopal appointments and presentations to benefices in medieval England. Dr. Smith introduces his study with a general account of the evolution of episcopal elections with special reference to the English church. Chapter II offers a condensed narrative of the events connected with each of the twenty-eight episcopal appointments of Edward II's twenty years of kingship. Contention was engendered in nearly all of these cases, and in numerous instances settlement was reached only after prolonged negotiation between king and pope. In a few cases the election went smoothly at the bidding of the king. Disputes might arise from a variety of causes. Disagreements in chapters and the ambition of candidates were factors in the situation. In one instance Edward and his queen appealed to the pope in the interests of rival candidates. Not infrequently papal reservations determined, or complicated, the election. John XXII appears more aggressive than his predecessor, Clement V, in seeking to place his candidates in English sees; according to Dr. Smith, John succeeded in asserting the principle that a bishop "owed his post not to the king but to the pope."

Chapter III is a short essay on patronage in the period preceding Edward. A detailed recital of "disputed cases of patronage" follows. (Chapter IV). The data here exhibit the importance in Edward's policy of the *droit de régale*, the king's right to present to benefices during the vacancy of the see to which they belong. Smith's view is that the right was not denied in principle by the popes, though in special cases where the pope's favorites were concerned its application was challenged on technicalities of procedure. The king's claims were frequently countered, too, by papal provisions and reservations. In course of our author's brief but lucid account of these disputes it becomes apparent that king

and pope stood in constant tension but that neither resorted to exorbitant demands or extreme courses of action. It seems to have been on both sides a game seriously played for important stakes, but without the excitement of mutual denunciation or violence. A chapter on "special cases" takes up questions relating to advowson during the sequestration of rebellious bishops, advowsons of alien priories, benefices resigned by pluralists, and the unlicensed division of a benefice.

In the concluding chapter (VI) the author surveys in perspective the conditions of patronage under Edward, and makes some helpful generalizations. He notes that it was the ecclesiastical rather than the lay patrons who between the papal and the royal interest were shorn of their advowsons. The statement that pope John's "success in episcopal appointments was complete" seems rather more absolute than the evidence warrants.

Smith makes the reader aware of Edward's political embarrassments, but does not allude to the thesis that he was a moronic degenerate. There is nothing to support that thesis in the facts here presented. Instead the king appears throughout as a fairly adroit ruler following reasonable aims. "His success," says our author, "was not remarkable, but he showed more purpose than is generally credited to him." He makes it clear that both protagonists were forced by the insecurity of their respective positions to follow moderate policies.

Dr. Smith has charted with scholarly certitude a significant area, and his work is of real value for ecclesiastical and for English history. The primary elements in church and state relationships in Edward's reign are now made fully apparent. The field is restricted, but its very considerable source material is systematically worked for the first time. There is a footnote reference for virtually every statement of fact. An appendix is supplied, containing thirty-one items, chiefly illustrative extracts from source documents. There is a fairly ample index.

It is safe to say that our author's method offers notable possibilities for other periods than the one here treated. For example, not to call in question the worth and importance of Miss Wood-Legh's *Church Life under Edward III*, the important reign of which she writes still lacks a treatment corresponding to Smith's of the special problems of his research.

Errata occur in words which ought to read "*pendente*," p. 63, "*fundatores*," p. 84, "Malmesbury," p. 110. More unfortunate is the error in the numeral of the title of the fifth chapter, p. 86.

The University of Chicago.

John T. McNeill.

OCKHAM, STUDIES AND SELECTIONS

By STEPHEN CHAK TORNAY. LaSalle, Ill.: Open Court Publishing Company, 1938. viii, 207 pages. \$1.75.

This volume presents Ockham's philosophy in essays and translations so arranged that it provides excellent understanding of the transition of thought from Scholasticism to modern philosophy. Many of

our significant modern philosophical problems stem from Ockham's nominalism, e. g. empiricism, nominalism, subjectivism, anti-intellectualism, pragmatism, positivism, and individualism.

Ockham's nominalistic approach to the logical, epistemological, and metaphysical problems is a criticism of traditional realism rather than its solution. He shows how extreme nominalism logically follows from empiricism. He interprets Aristotle as an empiricist and a nominalist. Substantial scholarship supports Professor Tornay in questioning (p. 91) Ockham's interpretation of the Stagirite at this point. Ockham's nominalism reduced universals to properties of particulars, mental fictions, or reified concepts. The Aristotelian categories thus lose all ontological implication. Logic now becomes a purely formal science. The universal in no sense precedes the act of intellect but, on the contrary, is produced by this act. This radical empiricism and logical formalism unite to effect Ockham's terministic nominalism.

In Ockham's natural philosophy, empiricism led to scientific speculation concerning the nature of the world and of man. He was a scientific positivist. Matter and form are mere mental constructions. He rejects the orthodox teaching that whatever exists was created in time. His rejection of the ontological universal with its formal causation rendered the concept of novelty insoluble in treating of the conception of form. The same positivistic bias characterizes his conception of motion, time, infinity, plurality of worlds, and the homogeneity of the universe, and illustrates his nominalism. Some of his concepts anticipate modern cosmology.

Ockham's nominalism concludes that science is for God while faith is for man. The effect of this theory of knowledge is to reduce religious, ethical, and political studies to relativism. No absolute norm of morality is ascribed either to human or to divine personality. Questions arising from his concepts of God, freedom, and the denial of an immaterial, immortal soul Ockham bequeathed to subsequent centuries.

The motive of Ockham's political philosophy was undoubtedly the improvement of the church, and while no theory of the state as such was developed by him, his creative spirit gives expression to notable concepts throughout his writings which both attracted and merited attention in his day and later centuries. Most striking in his political philosophy is his emphasis upon human personality, or the individual as against the corporate political body, illustrating his nominalism. Man's original state was that of natural equality, which he lost, thereby necessitating a "general compact of human society" (p. 81) under the rule of an elected prince but retaining the right of revolution. Sovereignty is limited by the laws of nature and of God in the interests of human well-being. Representative government was thus clearly defended and, in the last analysis, sovereignty is lodged in the people. This democratic conception of representation, along with that of Marsiglio, anticipated and prepared the way for the eventual development of the democratic state built upon the consent of the governed. In these matters of church and state, Ockham constantly appeals to the Bible as his final source of authority, once more characteristic of his prophetic nature in anticipating the work of

the Reformation. For Ockham, as for Plato, philosophy is more than a way of thinking, it is a way of life.

DePauw University.

Carroll D. W. Hildebrand.

REFORMER: ST. CHARLES BORROMEO

By MARGARET YEO. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1938. xi, 317 pages. \$3.00.

The Science and Culture Series, edited by Dr. Joseph Husslein, S. J., of St. Louis University, has already merited a high place in Catholic scholarship, philosophical, historical, and scientific. It is now further enriched by the addition of Margaret Yeo's *Reformer: St. Charles Borromeo*. As the title suggests, the author, now famous for her popularizations of saintly personalities of the Catholic Restoration in the sixteenth century, has chosen to cast the full light of her discerning literary ability on the part played by this "second St. Ambrose" in restoring all things in Christ, according to the spirit of the Council of Trent.

The work is quite naturally divided into three parts: 1538-1566: from Borromeo's birth to the end of his Roman career; 1566-1576: from his return to Milan as its reforming cardinal—Archbishop to the beginning of the Milanese plague; 1576-1584: from the climax of his episcopal administration, his utter self-sacrifice for his people during the awful plague, to his holy death. It is ably introduced by Dr. Husslein, lightened by several apt illustrations, and completed by a brief scholarly note on previous biographies, with a good bibliography and a helpful index.

The author demonstrates a most accurate knowledge of all the principal extant lives of the saint, as well as his countless letters, preserved in the Ambrosian library and elsewhere. Her descriptions of the terrain covered by the reformer in his apostolic travels manifest to one familiar with Italy an admirable fidelity. Worthy of note, also, is the easy familiarity with the principal characters and movements of the sixteenth century.

Descending to particulars, we are not in complete sympathy with the author's evaluation of the part played by the Emperor Charles V in the work of reform. While it may be true that the peace concluded at Augsburg in 1555, which established the victory of the Protestant princes over the Empire, was, in a large measure, the outcome of the policies of the Emperor—policies of religious liberalism and compromise, without the assistance of the papacy—nevertheless, we cannot dismiss him as one possessed of "Protestant sympathies," without due cognizance of the many external political difficulties which involved him in confusing activities.

An occasional abrupt transition, such as the one on page 44, where passage is made swiftly from Charles Borromeo's reception of the doctorate to the events preceding the election of his uncle, Cardinal de' Medici, as Pope Pius IV, the introduction of stray bits of extraneous knowledge,

which add nothing to the continuity of the narrative, are minor criticisms of what is otherwise a good literary production.

One should have liked less typographical slips in the Italian phrases, although these faults detract little from a book which displays by its excellent arrangement and printing the solicitude of the publisher.

We recommend this book to all who seek the complete picture of the sixteenth century. The non-Catholic will find in it an unbiased appreciation of what Catholic historians term "the Reformation from within the Church," or the Counter-Reformation, as seen through one of its greatest leaders. The Catholic will learn to appreciate more the historical significance of this reformer whom he venerates as a saint. We need bright stars to glitter in the firmament of our knowledge.

St. Joseph's Seminary,
Dunwoodie, Yonkers, N. Y.

Thomas J. McMahon.

A PURITAN CHURCH AND ITS RELATION TO COMMUNITY, STATE AND NATION

By OSCAR EDWARD MAURER. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938. 208 pages. \$2.00.

Completion of three hundred years of history for any American church is notable enough to warrant more than passing attention, but when the founding of that church happened to be closely identified with the inauguration of a new political entity, strongly influencing it, then the tercentenary celebration assumes added significance. 1938 marks the conclusion of three centuries of active history for the First Church of Christ in New Haven, more popularly known in that city as Center Church. It is also the tri-centennial of the founding of New Haven, fourth of the New England colonies. Because of the prominence given to the Puritan colonies in the study of American history, it was to be expected that this year would evoke considerable and widespread interest in this church and community, and a new history would be timely.

It is this reviewer's opinion, based on extensive reading, that Dr. Maurer has done a much better piece of work than the average writer of local church history, for which he is to be thanked. Yet there is much left to be desired. Annotations and index would have been helpful, and the bibliography is somewhat limited.

Dr. Maurer is quite right in pointing out that Puritanism was not as rigid as it is often portrayed to be—that in many respects it was a decided improvement over contemporary and earlier systems, and that the Blue Laws were mythical. However, he is in error when he ascribes to other colonies infliction of the death penalty for Quakers. It is true that within a brief period a very few were hanged in Massachusetts, and some other colonies enacted similarly severe laws, but they were never enforced. While no humane and intelligent person today defends the Salem witchcraft tragedy, that hysteria was also short-lived, and on an extremely insignificant scale as compared with Europe.

A broader study of American religious and social history might have aided the writer. He would have discovered that Davenport's contemplated return to England was not only frustrated by lack of church officers in the colony, but was given up largely because Thomas Hooker took such a decided stand against the New England clergymen who were invited to attend the Westminster Assembly. Such a study would also have shown that Center Church was really among the pioneers in the socialization of American Protestant Christianity before the Civil War, and it would have saved him from falling into the common error that the social gospel among the American Protestant churches had its rise in the preaching of Gladden, Strong, Rauschenbusch, Smyth, and others of their generation.

The source of the author's statement that 125,000 persons were excommunicated from the Old School Presbyterian Church in 1837, in connection with the abrogation of the Plan of Union, must not be regarded as too reliable. Usually the figure is set at from 60,000 to 100,000, and the subject needs considerably more careful investigation before making a positive statement. Undoubtedly it was familiarity with old terms which caused Dr. Maurer to overlook the fact that he referred to the Congregational Church Building Society as a current institution, for, of course, he knew that it became a part of the Congregational Home Missionary Society prior to 1938. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was not organized at the home of Noah Porter in Farmington, but in Bradford, three months earlier. The first meeting, after organization, was held at Porter's residence in September, 1810.

It is regrettable that the author devoted so much space to Leonard Bacon (we do not mean to minimize his importance), concerning whom an extensive biography was published by Yale Press only a few years ago, and so little to Moses Stuart and Nathaniel W. Taylor, both of whom were exceedingly important in American church history, especially in connection with the relations between Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

Saugerties, N. Y.

Gordon A. Riegler.

WHAT HAPPENED AT ALDERSGATE

Edited by ELMER T. CLARK. Nashville: Methodist Publishing House, 1938. 239 pages. \$1.00.

The nineteen addresses contained in this book were delivered before the General Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Savannah, Georgia. The occasion was the commemoration of the bi-centennial of Wesley's experience in the Aldersgate meeting in London. The addresses, largely by representatives from the South, by bishops, editors, theologians, college presidents, and pastors, were delivered to thousands of "pilgrims." For the most part they bear the earmarks of the spoken word with occasional slips of inaccuracy, some perhaps due to typographical errors. For instance, it is not quite accurate

to synchronize the origins of the Wesleyan movement with that of the Industrial Revolution. And Wesley died in 1791, not in 1792.

Although the present reviewer cannot subscribe to the judgment of a church paper that we have here "possibly the greatest series of addresses ever delivered to an audience in America," he feels that a high degree of excellence is maintained with remarkably little overlapping. The dominant objective of the speakers seems to have been to weigh the significance of Aldersgate in its social, economic, educational, theological, psychological, missionary, and social service aspects. A few attempt to show its importance to the historical process. Only one lecture deals with an analysis of the Aldersgate experience.

We might say that Aldersgate is used as a text from which the lecturers drew sermonic material, moral judgments, and spiritual lessons for our day and its problems. This is a book which will be of interest not only to Methodists but to all who wish to discover the larger meaning of an important event in the eighteenth century which still has its repercussions in wide circles today.

Garrett Biblical Institute.

A. W. Nagler.

BAYLE'S RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH

By LÉO PIERRE COURTINES. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. xi, 253 pages. \$3.50.

Though passing references can be found to this ingenious philosopher in practically all the standard histories of freethinking, few works on Bayle have been written in English. English readers, however, are fortunate in having at their disposal the present valuable study, a scholarly work dealing with Bayle's relations with England and the English. The author is to be especially commended for his wide use of the British periodicals of the day from which he has extracted material illustrating the influence of the Rotterdam philosopher upon English letters and criticism.

Bayle knew England and the main currents of her thought in spite of the fact that he never visited that country or mastered her language, as is clearly indicated in the present volume. His knowledge of England came from his contacts with French refugees in that country, his wide reading of English books, his friendship with the Earl of Shaftesbury and other Englishmen in Holland, and his correspondence with the Royal Society of London. His acquaintance with England and the English people can be seen in his *Oeuvres Diverses* and *Dictionnaire*. The author has taken from these two works all of Bayle's English references and has wisely included them in his Appendices. He has been careful to exclude all names of doubtful origin and has used the *Dictionary of National Biogra-*

phy as his guide. It is interesting to note that the Rotterdam thinker, like Voltaire and Montesquieu after him, greatly admired England and did everything in his power to popularize her institutions and ideas abroad.

The present work illustrates not only Bayle's knowledge of England, but also the influence he exerted upon English periodicals and the English deistic movement. Early British magazines, especially those devoted to criticism, were modelled after the Frenchman's famous *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. The latter contained a great number of critical literary, scientific, theological, and historical reviews, many of which served as models for similar compositions in English journals. In addition, Bayle's *Dictionnaire* was used as a basis for early English encyclopaedias, particularly the ten-volume *General Dictionary, Historical and Critical* (1734-41), which included besides the Frenchman's work several thousand additional biographical items. Taking his cue from Stephen, Kaye and Torrey, the author tells how Bayle contributed to the thought of such English deists as Toland, Shaftesbury, Collins, and Mandeville. (See L. Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* [New York, 1902], I, 204, II, 2, 19; F. B. Kaye, Bernard Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees* [Oxford, 1924], ciii; N. L. Torrey, *Voltaire and the English Deists* [New Haven, 1930], 7, 26, 202, 203.) At least the last two openly cited the works of the Frenchman and at times used his arguments. Unfortunately, the author does not include in his discussion the work of the deist Peter Annet who most certainly made use of Bayle's criticism of David. It is to be hoped that this section of the book will stimulate others to investigate this much neglected field in the history of deistic thought in England.

The present volume has two shortcomings. First, it does not give the reader a picture of England during Bayle's lifetime or the forty odd years after his death covered in the book. Such a presentation is necessary if one is to understand why Bayle was considered anathema in early eighteenth-century England. The explanation may very well have been found if expressed in terms of the economic, political and religious forces of the time, of the "Glorious" Revolution of 1688, of the fear on the part of the ruling classes of feeding heresy to the masses, and of middle class suspicion of "aristocratic, esoteric" deism. Secondly, the book contains far too many untranslated quotations from Bayle. This is extremely unfortunate since so much of the Frenchman's work cannot be found in English. One wishes that the author had followed Howard Robinson's laudable procedure in his *Bayle the Sceptic* of translating the French quotations into English.

In spite of these flaws, the present work is a valuable addition to our knowledge of a much neglected figure. Well organized and clearly written, it is a scholarly and competent treatment of Bayle's relations with England and the English and incidentally of his influence upon English thought and letters.

Brooklyn College.

Herbert M. Morais.

THE FAITHFUL MOHAWKS

By JOHN WOLFE LYDEKKER. New York: Macmillan and Company; Cambridge: at the University Press, 1938. 207 pages. \$3.75.

The archivist of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel here presents the results of exhaustive research in its papers and relevant sources regarding the work of the missionaries of the Society to the Mohawk Indians and its relation to their attitude in the colonial wars and the War of Independence. Very early in the history of the S. P. G., in 1704, a missionary was sent to Albany for the sake of the Mohawks. From that time Mr. Lydekker follows the ministry of the missionaries to this tribe to the death of John Stuart among the Mohawks in Canada in 1811. Until the War of Independence, with some interruptions, the missionaries worked among the Mohawks first at Fort Hunter, west of Amsterdam, and later also at their "upper castle" at Canajoharie. Their testimony to the effect of their efforts on the conduct of their converts is not encouraging, but they were not discouraged. A few leaders who became permanently influential were developed. Although the war between the British and French, in which the Mohawks were involved on the British side, seriously damaged religious work, the mission continued. During the period between the British conquest of Canada and the War of Independence Sir William Johnson, in whose vast domains the Mohawks lived, became an ardent supporter of the S. P. G. and brought about a considerable strengthening of its work. His letters on this subject present this remarkable man in a new light. In the same times the S. P. G. mission contributed to history the famous Joseph Brant. A member of a family of Mohawk sachems, he first appears in 1772 as interpreter for the missionary John Stuart. His support of the British in the War of Independence led to the visit to England during which he was lionized by Boswell and others. The frontispiece of this book reproduces the portrait of him in chief's dress which Romney painted. Under his leadership the Mohawks engaged in the war. After Burgoyne's defeat most of those who had been attached to the S. P. G. mission fled to Canada, whither a missionary at length followed them and ministered to them at Kingston. Sullivan's campaign sent Brant and other Mohawks into Canada near Niagara.

This history Mr. Lydekker recites with full quotations from the letters of missionaries and the Society's records and with careful study of the background. While the quotation at times seems needlessly full, the net result is a lively picture of work by faithful if not unusual men amid plots and counter-plots, wars and migrations. The missionaries seem not to have been directly responsible for the political attitude of the Mohawks. This was due to Johnson and Brant, but doubtless the missionary work created preparatory sympathies. British and Anglican, Mr. Lydekker does less than justice to the "Dissenting missionaries," "adherents of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, D. D., a Congregational minister"—this includes Samuel Kirkland, who kept the Oneidas neutral during the War of Independence. His American geography is not impeccable.

He describes the Wyoming of the massacre of 1778 as in "New York Province" and on his map locates it in western New York. There is a Wyoming in that region, but the Wyoming of the massacre is in north-eastern Pennsylvania. This involves a quite different picture of the Indian fighting of that time.

Auburn Theological Seminary.

Robert Hastings Nichols.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN RHODE ISLAND

By THOMAS F. CULLEN. Providence: 299 Fruit Hill Avenue, 1936. 482 pages.

The author of this work has essayed to present a narrative account of the history of the Catholic Church in Rhode Island, and to survey in a general manner the Catholic contributions to the development of that state.

The first four chapters are devoted to a review of what may be termed the civil and ecclesiastical backgrounds of Rhode Island's Catholic history. The Norse church in eleventh-century America, the exploration of New England, the foundation of the Providence Plantations, religious toleration in Maryland and Rhode Island, and the eighteenth-century New England attitude towards religious toleration and particularly towards the Catholic church form the substance of these chapters.

There then follows an account of the establishment of the American Catholic hierarchy, with John Carroll as first bishop, after which the author passes on to a consideration of the administrations of the bishops who have successively governed the church in New England. This chronological introduction is in turn followed by brief sketches of the parishes of the diocese and of the religious orders and congregations who have labored in the State. Accounts of the religious and charitable organizations, and lists of the Catholic institutions in the state and of the clergy laboring in the diocese in 1936 complete the contents of the volume.

A large amount of earnest and persevering labor has unquestionably gone into this volume. As a popular survey it undoubtedly has its merits. But as a work of scholarship it can make little claim to distinction.

The volume is characterized throughout by an absence of references to sources or authorities; only in the preface does the author give us any indication of the character of the unpublished materials from which he must have drawn a large share of his information. The bibliography, uncritically drawn up, lists the secondary studies that have been made of the Diocese of Providence and of its parishes and institutions.

The greater number of obvious errors, inaccuracies, and overstatements are found in the four introductory chapters. It must suffice here to indicate only the most flagrant of these.

The high percentage claimed for the Irish in the Revolutionary army (pp. 104-105) rests upon evidence too doubtful to receive the endorse-

ment of serious scholarship. Resting likewise upon a patriotic desire rather than upon grounds of evidence is the assertion that Myles Standish was a Catholic (p. 24). The treatment of the question of religious toleration in Maryland and Rhode Island is at best but superficial, and one cannot escape the suspicion that the author entertains a naïve notion of the practical results of Charles II's attitude towards toleration. A final example of the unreliable nature of the introductory portion of the work may be instanced in the author's attribution to the influence of Bishop Carroll "in great measure" of the insertion of Article 6, Section 3 of the Federal Constitution, along with the First Amendment thereto (p. 53).

As for the history of the various parishes and institutions of the Diocese, Father Cullen's treatment is fuller than that contained in the chapters on the Diocese of Providence which the late Archbishop Dowling contributed to the *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States* (Boston, 1899). For the history of the years that have elapsed since the publication of the latter work it is of course indispensable.

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Thomas F. O'Connor.

THE HISTORY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN JAPAN

By HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER. New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1938. 288 pages. \$2.00.

Missionary writings are often rendered both dull and useless by a strained attempt to be "inspirational" and by a preoccupation with denominational achievements which ignores the work done by others and slights the native background. Bishop Tucker, in his calm and objective review of the work of the Episcopal Church in Japan, has avoided both of these pitfalls. His opening chapter offers a brief but sympathetic and informative summary of early Japanese history and the two following deal successively with the sixteenth century Jesuit mission and the period of religious and cultural isolation that followed its suppression. Only with the fourth chapter does he begin to deal primarily with the work of his own denomination, and throughout the book he continues to make frequent references to the activities of other religious groups and to offer thoughtful and suggestive comparisons of their differing methods. The two concluding chapters, which discuss, in the light of his own wide experience, the problems of working out a genuinely Japanese Christianity and of adapting foreign assistance to native needs, would seem to have applicability to all Christian churches in Japan.

So far as one can judge from the brief bibliography and occasional footnotes, the work does not appear to be based on quite as extensive research as might be desired, and there has, perhaps, been too great a reliance upon secondary sources. One is especially surprised by the omission of an important Episcopalian source, the *Proceedings* of the

Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. Nevertheless, the book gives a useful and interesting summary of one phase, though it may be only a minor one, of the modern expansion of Christianity. The style is smooth and readable, presenting its subjects vividly without straining after rhetorical effect.

General Theological Seminary, New York City. William W. Manross.

PIUS XI: THE APOSTLE OF PEACE

By LILLIAN BROWN-OLF. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. 257 pages. \$2.50.

This interesting study introduces us to one of the greatest ecclesiastical statesmen of all ages. The Holy Father has had a varied, fascinating and successful career. He was at one time a professor of mathematics. At another, a professor of Hebrew. At a later period, librarian of two of the greatest libraries of the world—the *Ambrosiana* in Milan, and the Vatican in Rome. One of the best-known mountaineers of his generation, he has scaled some of the most perilous heights in Europe. As a diplomat, his success in the difficult post-war Polish situation might well make envious professional diplomatists. His missionary life is as great as that of any of his distinguished predecessors since the days of the apostles, Peter and Paul. Behind everything, one feels that here is a man who, in a very vital sense, has spent his life seeking to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with his God.

Mrs. Brown-Olf has given us a stimulating biography; and one that should be read by all Protestants—the more Protestant they are, the more necessary the reading! The history of the papacy (and particularly of the church prior to the Reformation) is but little understood by many. And the perusal of this book would enlarge the vision of the prejudiced. It is, of course, outside the realm of the author to attempt to appraise the historic causes of the Protestant breach with Rome. Her remarks on Russia seem, to the reviewer, to fail to take into consideration the almost complete inadequacy of the Greek Orthodox church prior to the Revolution. Is it beside the point to suggest that the Eastern church never had a great reform movement like that which culminated in the Roman Catholic church in the Council of Trent—a movement which was one of the indirect results of the Reformation: or a Tractarian Movement, as in the Anglican church, under Newman, Keble, and Pusey—which was one of the indirect results of the revival under the Wesleys and Whitefield in the eighteenth century? Would it be unwise to hazard the guess that if all the previous occupants of the papal chair had displayed the same personal piety, sound scholarship, and administrative acumen as Pius XI, Christendom would in all probability have remained one? And who now could diagnose the possible effects of a united church on the crude philosophies and rabid nationalisms of our time?

Drew University.

Geoffrey Wardle Stafford.

NATHAN SÖDERBLOM

Von TOR ANDRAE. Autorisierte Übersetzung aus dem Schwedischen von Emmy Groening und Dr. Albrecht Völklein. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1938. vii, 232 Seiten. Mit 4 Bildnissen. Geb. RM. 4. 80.

In the summer of 1931 one of the most remarkable of contemporary leaders of the Christian Church came suddenly to the end of his career. Before the end of the year there appeared what is still the best treatment of the life and work of that leader—Archbishop Nathan Söderblom of Upsala. The book was an affectionate tribute to his departed friend by Tor Andrae, successor to Söderblom in the chair of history of religion at Upsala, and now bishop of Linköping. It is a translation of Andrae's book by German admirers of the Archbishop that has now been brought out in Germany.

Andrae did not intend to write a definitive biography. Rather, while the keen loss of the archbishop was still deeply felt he sketched the background of this versatile and beloved personality whose name was everywhere known, but whose early life was known only to a few. So the author described in interesting detail the pastor's home from which Nathan Söderblom came, in northern Sweden; traced with careful lines the student days at Upsala and the first beginnings of the international activities of the later ecumenical leader. The Paris period also received considerable attention, for these were years in which Söderblom revealed his social philosophy as well as acquired world-wide standing in the field of history of religion. From his brilliant work at the Sorbonne Söderblom came to Upsala as professor, and later to Leipzig. Then, in the year that the old Germany ceased to be, in 1914, he returned to Sweden as archbishop. Of the period between 1914 and 1931, the years of Söderblom's ecumenical activity, Andrae gave no detailed account, but out of the rich material of the period drew a picture of the man as those who knew him best saw him. Future biographies may give more complete information than Andrae, but it is doubtful if any work will have more of the glow of understanding friendship which gives his book warmth as well as clarity.

In the main the German work is a close translation of the Swedish. The reader soon notes that the translators, however, are not interested in all of the details of the original. References to Swedish customs, traditions, persons and events are omitted, if they seem to have only local significance. While this may be natural for the translators who have in mind a German public, the result is bound to be a weakening of the original. For the Swedish reader finds much in Andrae's book which throws light on conditions in Sweden during Söderblom's youth and student days—this the German reader does not find. And there are times when the translators misunderstood the original and rendered it incorrectly. Andrae at times interwove his own thoughts with what he was recounting about Söderblom, and the German authors have sometimes failed to distinguish. Thus on page 140, it is Söderblom's not

Andrae's book which is alluded to. And on page 143 "the horizon" which was "too high" was not Söderblom's. A "*nicht*" on page 159 is not in the Swedish, and a "*nicht*" on page 170 reveals that the organization of the Swedish Convocation was not quite clear to the German translators.

But these errors are not of great importance. Of greater moment is the fact that the German work contains a considerable section which is not in the Swedish. For much of chapter 6, "Für christliche Gemeinschaft und den Frieden der Völker," is an addition, concerning which the translators have given no explanation. One guesses that most of the material came from Söderblom's book on the Stockholm Conference. It adds much of general interest, undoubtedly, to those whose main knowledge of Söderblom was associated with the ecumenical movement, but the reader will not find the corresponding information in the original of which this purports to be a translation. On the other hand the Swedish reader enjoys a wealth of illustration not accessible to the German, the translation having but four of the original one hundred twenty-five pictures.

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STEPS TOWARD A WORLD COUNCIL

By CHARLES S. MACFARLAND. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1938. 128 pages. \$1.25.

It is one of the compensations of being an *emeritus* that one has time to do many things which need to be done but for which in the pressure of competing interests it is hard to find time. Dr. Macfarland, Secretary *Emeritus* of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, has given us a striking example of this in the volume now being reviewed. In this book he traces the history of the steps which have led up to the formation of the present World Council and supplies needed information on points on which he is perhaps the only living man able to supply them.

The title of the book is something of a misnomer. Any volume that would deserve the title which Dr. Macfarland gives his book ought to trace the steps which led up to the Lausanne Conference for 1927 and the personalities engaged in that approach with the same care as our author has given to the steps which led up to Oxford. A fuller account of what lay back of the formation of the International Missionary Council would also have been welcome. What Dr. Macfarland gives us, with a thoroughness and accuracy of knowledge for which he has put all lovers of church unity in his debt, is a picture of the general antecedents of the movement in such earlier attempts as the Evangelical Alliance, a full account of the steps which led from the meeting at Hälsingborg (Sweden) in 1922 to the calling of the Stockholm Conference of 1925, and some significant contributions to the history of the three years that followed, especially what concerns the relation of the

movement to Rome, to the Orthodox churches, to Anglicanism, and to the French and German churches. He passes over the history of what happened from 1922 to 1925 much more briefly than its importance deserves and is silent as to the happenings of the thirteen years that followed Stockholm.

This is not said by way of criticism but simply to warn the reader what he is to expect from the book. The author was wise to restrict himself to that part of the history of which he has had first-hand knowledge, and in which (it should be added, though he passes over this lightly) he was a conspicuous actor. For this he has put all workers in the ecumenical movement in his debt, and in their name this reviewer desires to thank him.

Of the many points which suggest themselves for comment I can select only two. One is the part played by the Evangelical Alliance and its prophetic secretary, Dr. Josiah Strong, during the latter half of the last century in preparing the way for the ecumenical movement in its present form. The other is the extraordinary anticipation of the plan for the present World Council in the little known book of Dr. Samuel S. Schmucker of Gettysburg Theological Seminary (*The True Unity of Christ's Church*), first issued in 1838, just one hundred years before the meeting which prepared the first definitive plan for the World Council. In the Evangelical Alliance we find a remarkable anticipation of the Stockholm program in the field of Christian ethics; in Dr. Schmucker's book a plan for an official alliance of the Protestant churches on a confessional basis which has many parallels with the plan of the proposed World Council.

If one asks what reason there is for anticipating that the World Council of Churches will be able to do what the Evangelical Alliance failed to accomplish, two answers can be given. One is that an official body such as the World Council is planned to be in its very nature has deeper roots than any association of private persons can have. Being based upon official bodies, it is better able to survive changes of mood or the death of exceptional leaders. The other reason is that the Evangelical Alliance and, for that matter, Dr. Schmucker's proposed alliance of churches were both purely Protestant bodies, whereas the World Council is to include the Eastern Orthodox Churches and in principle at least, so far as its attitude toward the Church of Rome is concerned, is truly ecumenical. There is good reason, therefore, for believing that in what was recently done at Utrecht we have not simply been repeating ancient history but moving out into new ground which is full of promise.

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William Adams Brown.

THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE IN A NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD

By H. KRAEMER. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938. 455 pages. \$3.00.

No more comprehensive book on missions has appeared recently than this large volume prepared for the forthcoming World Missionary Conference at Madras. Consider the fields it covers: the crisis of the East,

the West, and the church; developments in the missionary enterprise; the nature of the Christian faith and ethic and the relation of Christianity to its environments; attitudes toward non-Christian religions; the non-Christian systems of life and thought, of civilization and social structures; the present religious situation in the non-Christian world; the various missionary approaches of permeation, adaptation, mass conversions; specific problems in various continents. Yet breadth does not involve sacrifice of depth. Few men other than the author would be competent to handle so vast a canvass with such vigor, brilliance, and perspective.

What Dr. Kraemer calls "Biblical realism" dominates his presentation. Naturalism, idealism, mysticism—none of these has a place in his view of prophetic religion. His constant emphasis falls on God's initiative in revelation; on the angelic-satanic nature of man; on the fact that Christianity, like all empirical religions, is tainted with the poison of relativism but differs from other religions in standing under the judgment of the revelation of Christ; on the church, not as "a good will agency for the diffusion of refined and cultured idealism" but as "a fellowship of those who live by the miracle of the forgiveness of sin" and which "calls men to confront themselves with God's acts of revelation and salvation."

Dr. Kramer disassociates himself from the intellectualism of orthodoxy and from liberalism, whose activism and syncretism horrify him. *Whither Missions* of the Laymen's Enquiry and H. V. White's *Theology for Christian Missions* both fail to meet his approval. In theological point of view he stands close to Brunner's modification of Barthianism. One Christian grace he possesses which too often appears to be submerged in the exponents of the dialectical theology. He calls it a "humorous modesty in regard to one's work." This grows out of the realization that though it is the Christian's "plain obligation and privilege to exert himself to the utmost . . . seemingly working as if all depended upon his sincere devotion to his task," yet at the same time he is "deeply and reverently aware that it is God who makes the seed grow."

Dr. Kraemer makes two comments—one on Barth and one on Islam—which I should like to apply to his own book. Barth, he says, in his eagerness to protest against contemporary relativisms, fails to give relativism its due. So our learned and fervent author seems so eager to recover the prophetic message of Christianity as he understands it that he fails to come adequately to terms with prophetic religion as liberals understand it. But if the pages of his book reflect his own candor and tolerance in personal contact, his meeting on the floor of the conference at Madras with exponents of other forms of Christianity should be as fruitful of a larger synthesis as it will be dramatic.

His second comment has to do with what he calls the superheated process to which Islam has been subjected. His own chapters are themselves rather superheated. But ardent and brilliant sparks from them will, I believe, kindle and illuminate many a dull and ashy faith at Madras and hereabouts.

The Chicago Theological Seminary.

A. C. McGiffert.



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